

Militant

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The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth 30p

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Tories treat us like dirt

THE GOVERNMENT keep talking about the wonderful opportunities on offer for the young people of our country.

By Helen Donnelly,
an Edinburgh mother

I'm sure young John thought that one of those opportunities had come for him. Having just left school, not quite 16, people told him the future was bleak until the great day he could sign on. What else was on offer, not work surely?

But John had hope and went job hunting. Miracle upon miracle, he found a job. Some businessmen in Livingston new town were taking on youngsters. More than likely it was only till they were eighteen but that was two years' work at £45 a week and you could make bonuses. One week's trial, good workers kept on, it said.

John was proud, so were his parents. He'd be able to contribute to the family. His dad wasn't able to get work, even though he'd spent twelve years in Her Majesty's forces.

Even though she couldn't afford it, his mother bought him new work clothes and boots.

Monday arrives. John's first day was

very hard; a big order had come in for new pallets for another local firm. Tired but content he finished his days work.

Day two. John is working with an older man, telling him how lucky he feels to have a job. He said he'd like eventually to be a long term worker, with their wages and benefits, only to be told that he and the other young boys would only be there for a week.

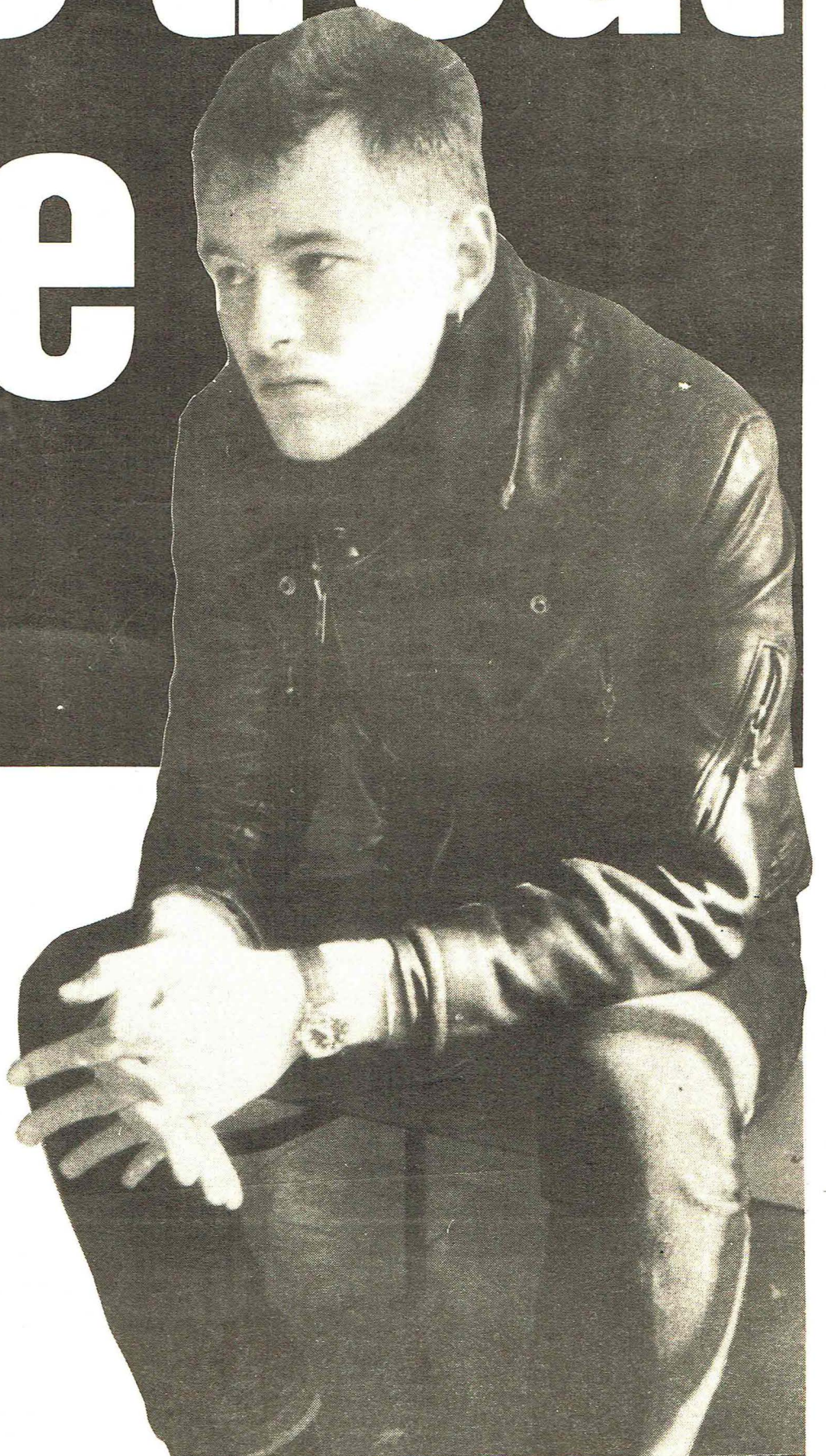
"But I'm on a week's trial, then I'll be taken permanent, the boss said so." John protested.

The older man tells him the real situation. "I've seen it happen many times. A big order comes in to be done fast, the faster the more profit for the boss, so he takes on cheap labour for the week. It's his business, he can hire and fire as he likes. Never mind what the boss told you, that's the truth."

The experience there has left several completely disillusioned young men, one not yet sixteen.

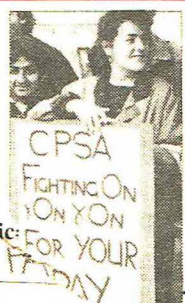
That's the promised land. Our youth are just cheap labour, to be used and abused by anyone who owns a business. And what makes it more appalling, they are encouraged by this government to do so.

Miracles! Wonderful opportunities! For whom? Can we sit back and watch this happening to our children, our future?



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Build your paper's funds

DONATIONS HAVE flooded in to *Militant* during and since the general election. Workers wanting a real alternative to Thatcherism have shown it with cash.

We have had the best Fighting Fund Quarter yet, but time is short for reaching the full target—

ONLY 3 WEEKS LEFT TO RAISE £39,000! (See p.7).

Show YOUR support for *Militant* NOW. Rush us a 'Fiver', a 'tenner', £20 or even £100 if you've got it! Ask anyone else you know to follow suit for the best workers' paper there is. There are

so many Tory lies to nail! Give us the resources and we'll do the job. Help us smash the £70,000 target and go forward to another record achievement!

By Clare Doyle

Liverpool student leaders victimised

THE NEW right wing majority of the Liverpool Labour group have decided to sack three of the city's four elected student union presidents at Sandown, South Mersey and City FE Colleges, including NUS executive member, Colette Williams.

By a dirty manoeuvre in the final ten minutes of a Labour group meeting, the right wing decided to withdraw their wages.

The excuse for this attack is the result of interference in the union's affairs by an unelected council official. When they submitted their constitutions for the council's education committee, they were altered behind the backs of councillors and students to prevent sabbatical presidents standing for re-election. Even now, a later clause in the constitution contradicts this rule.

Ironically, some of those who voted for this victimisation have criticised the last Liverpool Labour group for issuing 32,000 redundancy notices in 1985. But then no-one was made redundant, despite what the slanderers say. The right-wing today are starting real sackings.

The three, who led a

By Cheryl Varley

Convenor of Merseyside Area Student Organisation

campaign for the student Labour vote in the election, were re-elected recently by about 22,000 further education students.

The NUS national executive completely support the struggle against these sackings and the Merseyside Area will be campaigning hard to get the decision reversed, linking up with trade unionists, Labour Party members, and the previous 47 Labour councillors.

Protest letters and resolutions should be sent to the secretary of the Liverpool labour group, c/o the municipal buildings, Dale Street, Liverpool. Copies to MASO c/o Haigh Building, Liverpool Poly, Maryland St, Liverpool.



NUS executive member Colette Williams victimised by the new Liverpool council.

NUS's missed opportunity in general election

THE 1987 General Election was a major opportunity for the Labour majority on the National Union of Students (NUS) executive to win the student vote for Labour. Unfortunately the Kinnockite 'Democratic Left' group squandered it.

When Further Education Labour Students member, Colette Williams, proposed a vote Labour campaign at the executive, the Democratic Left's vote caused its defeat.

The NUS campaign was, in president Vicky Philips' words, "not designed to differentiate between the parties." Material did effectively attack the government's record, but NUS briefings fostered illusions in the Alliance by praising aspects of their election manifesto, and failed to expose their record of attacks on education when in control of local authorities.

Seats were targeted on a 'non-political' basis. 50 seats were identified where the student vote was bigger than the sitting MP's majority. These included seats where the Alliance were

second to the Tories and Labour was way behind, seats where the Alliance was a few votes behind Labour, and seats where the Tories were challenging the Alliance!

A clear call to vote Labour in Wolverhampton NE, a target seat where Ken Purchase lost by 214 votes, would undoubtedly have kept Labour the seat.

Little effect

Overall, NUS's campaign had little effect. Of its 50 target seats only 16 changed hands, and four of these were won by the Tories!

NUS should learn from the campaign the Merseyside Area Student Organisation ran alongside Liverpool Labour Party, with broasheets and stickers clearly calling for a Labour vote, debates where the issues were explained and a lobby of Tory party HQ. NUS should take this approach at the next election.

By a NOLS member

Sectarian tension mounts in N Ireland

WITH THE Loyalist marches on the way there has been a stepping up of sectarian incidents in Northern Ireland. Last weekend Loyalist marchers clashed with police in Portadown after their parade was rerouted away from a Catholic area.

From Peter Hadden in Belfast

Workers in the Gallagher's factory in Ballymena and Shorts Brothers, East Belfast plant have gone on strike after management removed Loyalist flags from the shop floor.

Numerous sectarian petrol bombings, beatings and riots have gone unreported in the press. Most ominously the sectarian killer gangs have returned to the streets. In the last ten days three Catholic workers, one a hospital chef and active NUPE member, have been gunned down by Loyalist assassins in Belfast.

For their part the Provos have stepped up their campaign against the off-duty RUC and UDR men. Whether intended or not, these killings could not be better designed to provoke a Loyalist backlash. Worst of all was the attempt by dissident INLA members to assassinate former Unionist MP Jim Nicholson. Fortunately this attack failed as a result would most likely have been the death of even more innocent Catholics killed in reprisal.

Nevertheless, the sectarian mood is still not as intense as last year. In Shorts some workers went out on strike over the purely sectarian issue of flags, but many more came out through intimidation, and because of the arrogant and high handed manner with which the management dealt with the issue.

If the anger of Protestants has subsided somewhat it is not because they have come to terms with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, but because this agreement has not been implemented. While upholding the agreement in words, in practice the British government has been making concessions to the Unionists in a bid to open up talks between the major parties.

For Catholics the agreement has not resulted in concessions, but more repression as one incident which took place last weekend indicates.

The unions must mount an effective campaign to unite workers.

A Catholic farmer, Michael Ward, and his 21 year old house-keeper were driving near his County Tyrone farm early on Sunday afternoon. They were halted by two cars, one in front and one behind. Fearing a sectarian ambush he managed to drive around the front car but his car was sprayed with gunfire in the process. A third car tried to cut him off but he managed to escape.

He phoned the police who refused to come to his house until about five hours later. Subsequently the police have admitted that it was they who intercepted and opened fire on the car.

There is no difference between this and previous shoot to kill undercover operations which, according to the SDLP, the Anglo-Irish Agreement was to put paid to - except that Michael Ward has lived to tell the tale.

With Loyalist marches and

more acts of deliberate provocation by the paramilitaries, there is a danger that the situation can worsen over the coming weeks. However, the vast majority of workers, Catholic and Protestant, would be completely opposed to such a development.

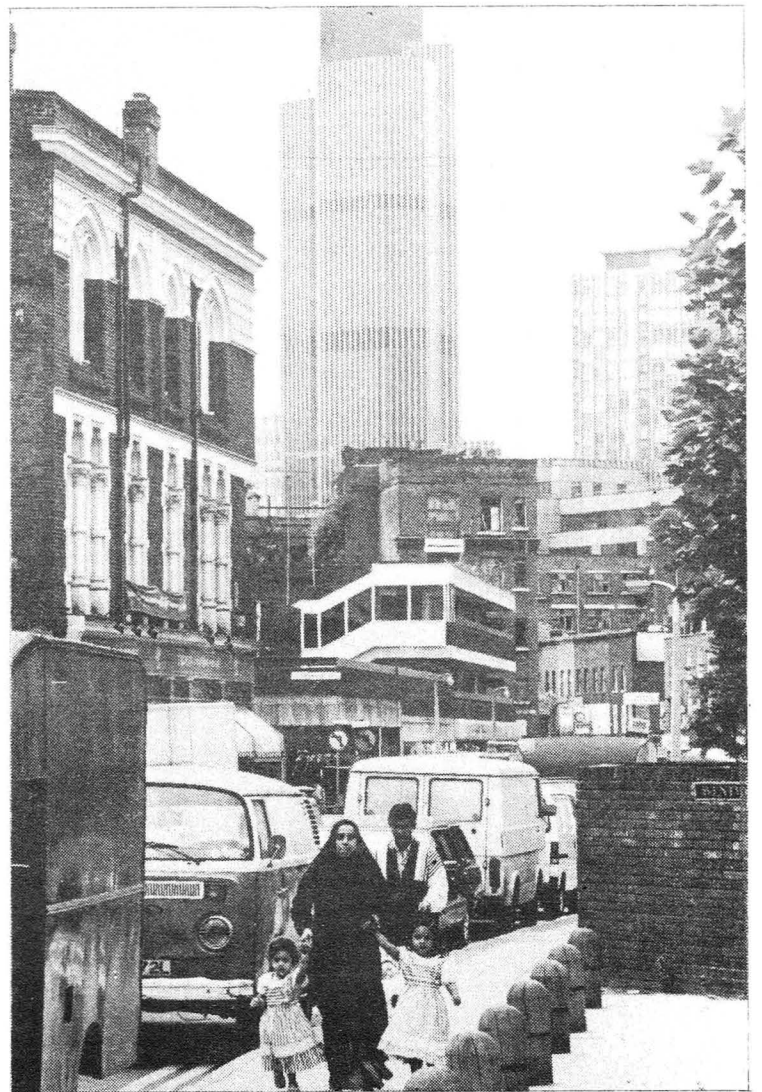
Recently there have been a number of significant strikes involving Catholic and Protestant workers. The Abbey meat plant near Belfast was briefly occupied by the workforce as part of an on-going strike. Another meat plant, Ulster Meats in Craigavon has been out. Shipyard workers have been on strike over pay.

Civil servants have been solid in support of their pay campaign. Now that the right wing leadership of NIPSA, the main civil service union in Northern Ireland, have followed the SCPS and surrendered, the NIPSA Broad Left have taken the issue up and are organising a mass protest lobby of the union's Belfast headquarters.

It is time the union leadership harnessed this growing class anger and mounted an effective campaign to unite workers. A motion from the CPSA passed at last week's Irish Congress of Trade Unions conference, stated that "Only the trade union and labour movement can defeat the bigots on both sides and mobilise workers around their common interests of jobs, living standards, health service, housing education and an end to sectarianism".

Just as the sectarian organisation are now going on the offensive, so the trade union leaders must put the sentiments of this motion into effect. A rank and file conference of the movement should be called to discuss action to defeat sectarianism, oppose repression and unite workers industrially and politically against the policies of the bigots.

Prince meets poverty



THE SQUALOR of Brick Lane (above), just a few minutes walk from the City of London, where fortunes are made every day.

Even Prince Charles, on his much publicised visit last week, was moved to call conditions there unacceptable. "They are working and living in conditions almost as bad as those on the Indian sub-continent," he said.

These comments are being promoted to add credibility to the Tories' plans for the inner cities. But the City spivs who joined Prince Charles on his tour are more likely to want to replace sweatshops with office blocks than to rehouse the area's population.

Nor has His Royal Highness offered Buckingham Palace's spare rooms to the 1,312 homeless families there.

His plaintive reply to an unemployed 21-year old summed up all this system has to offer.

"I wish I could help," said the 'sympathetic' prince. "Keep trying."

Civil servants rally for victory

AN UNPRECEDENTED mood of determination to fight was displayed at the Wembley rally of activists in the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA), held on the eve of the ballot for an all-out strike.

Over 500 delegates enthusiastically backed the NEC's decision to call for the ballot. There was not a single voice of dissent.

Speaker after speaker from every region spoke of the growing mood for action amongst the membership, and highlighted members' concern over the government's proposals to introduce 'flexible pay', which would mean regional and performance related pay being used to divide members and cut across national pay bargaining within the Civil Service.

Claimants

Support for the CPSA action was given by Steve Briggs, from the National Campaign Against Social Security Cuts. He emphasised that there was a growing realisation amongst claimants that the government is responsible for their hardship, not civil servants.

The campaign he said, has led to "a sense of common purpose and common problems emerging on both sides of the counter".

That need for unity has also been widely supported by rank-and-file SCPS members. Many area delegates reported an excel-

lent response from SCPS members to CPSA picket lines. In one Birmingham DHSS office only six Society members out of a membership of 67 scabbed.

The reports showed that there is still a basis for a united campaign, with many SCPS members calling on their executive to rejoin the campaign and give the membership the opportunity to decide on all-out action.

Jeremy Corbyn MP, who is sponsored by NUPE, pointed out that if the government is successful in implementing 'flexible pay' in the civil service, the precedent would be set for every industry.

CPSA members now have no alternative but to fight. As even John Ellis, the General Secretary, was finally forced to admit: "The choices facing CPSA members are either abject surrender or all-out strike".

As John Macreadie, the Deputy General Secretary of the CPSA said, to the greatest ovation of the day: "We need to stand together. We may well start this national strike alone, but I do not believe from the evidence of the past weeks that we will stay alone and I am sure we will win this strike. We can win, we will win, forward to victory!".

By Tom Taylor

Secretary CPSA DE London
North Branch (personal capacity)

the Labour Party Young Socialists. Already Broad Left activists and stewards in Walsall workplaces have been approached to establish a Solidarity Fund in the event of a national strike.

As Mitch Horton, Walsall East CPSA chair, said: "We're all poverty-pay workers; we've no savings or spare cash and we'll need a hardship fund from day one of any strike".

Kevin Knight, Aldridge Brownhills LPYS secretary and AEU shop steward, said: "We've got loads of experience and contacts from our fund-raising in the miners' strike—we'll be making sure that no CPSA members get starved back to work!".

By Nigel Wheatley
Unemployed ASTMS member

Poverty pay workers

ON THE picket line last week, a Walsall CPSA members semi-joked: "If the government get away with compulsory YTS and JTS, they could afford to send us home redundant and make the unemployed administer their own benefits, but at dole rates of pay!"

"But they're already doing that!" said another: "I'm only taking home about £4 a week more than I'd get on Supplementary Benefit anyway!"

CPSA pickets were visited by local members of

Civil for too long

THE MOOD on the CPSA picket lines outside Companies House, Cardiff, was militant. 'Enough is enough' and 'Civil for too long' proclaimed placards.

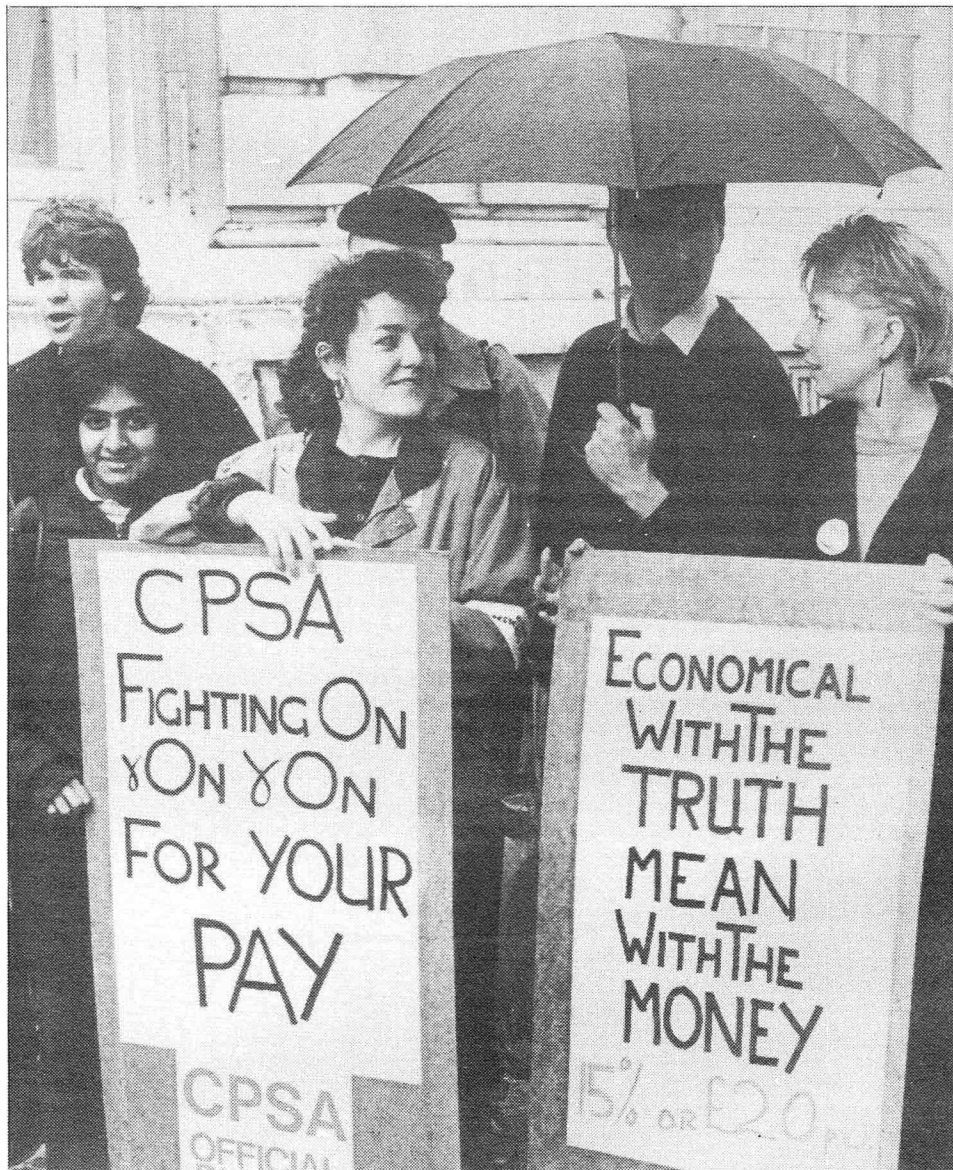
The branch have recorded three majorities for John Macreadie and two of the highest votes, four to one, for strike action. Last week again there was a 70-80 per cent turnout for the regional strike. 20-25 new members have joined since the start of the pay campaign, three of them joining on Wednesday and on the picket line on Thursday.

18 year-old striker Hugh MacDonald, with a take-home pay of about £63 a

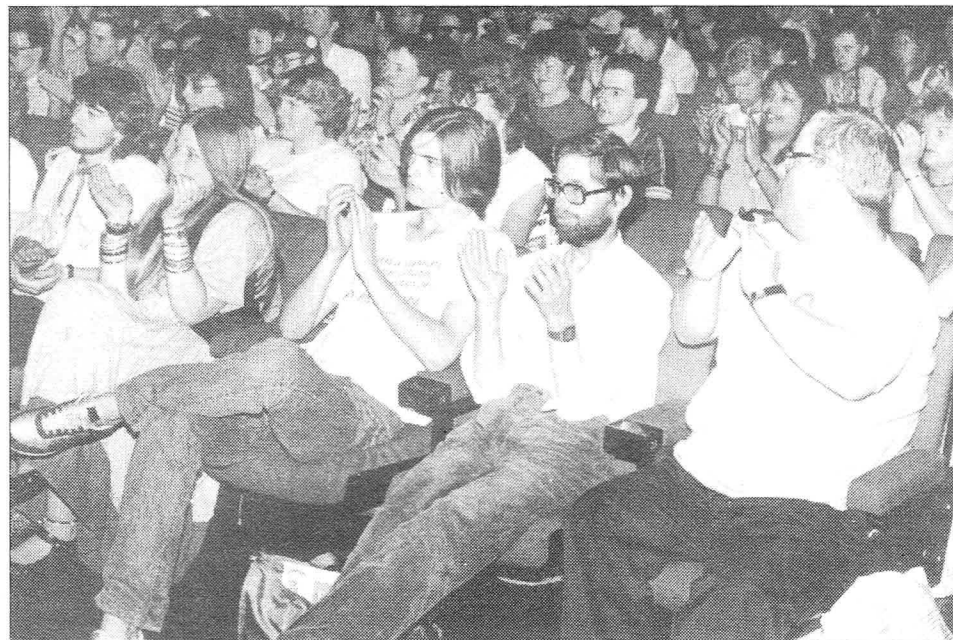
week, said he had to fight. Even some who crossed the picket line (many of them casuals) apologised, saying it was because they were on the breadline.

Everyone was hoping for a Labour victory. Now the issues are clear. We have explored all the avenues with the government. Only all-out strike action can gain us a victory. We will win where others have failed.

By Kevin McGrath
(CPSA Assistant Branch Secretary) and
Tony Blake
(CPSA Branch Secretary) in personal capacity.



CPSA members picketing in Whitehall, London, during the regional strike campaign.



Last Sunday's rally at Wembley.

Photo: Dave Sinclair.

Society leader fails to quell members' anger

MEMBERS OF the Society of Civil and Public Servants (SCPS) in Hackney DHSS, angry at their executive's withdrawal from the joint pay campaign with the CPSA, invited executive member, Geoff Tice to defend their action.

He claimed that the decision to suspend the selective action, contrary to the terms of the earlier ballot voted on by both unions for further action "with a view to a ballot for all-out action", had to be taken quickly and they "didn't have time to consult their membership".

He admitted that the executive have already received 20 motions of censure and countless telephone calls of complaint. He confirmed that negotiations had been offered only to the SCPS.

Asked whether he thought it a good idea to negotiate alone and was it not a divisive policy, Tice had to agree, but said that while they would prefer not to negotiate alone, they must act for Society members.

Imposed

When asked what the EC are negotiating on anyway, when the Treasury have already stated that the pay offer is to be imposed, he spoke of 'relativities' and increased pay for responsibilities. "Merit pay!" was the disgusted reaction from the floor—"Where is your bargaining position? You haven't got one!"

Summing up, he said: "There's not much I can actually say. I accept the anger. We didn't want to

see some of our better members losing money".

This outrageous contempt was not allowed to go without comment. Tice was told that the Society's 'better' members did lose pay and will continue to do so, because "Our 'better members' won't cross CPSA picket lines!"

Clearly SCPS members must build their Broad Left and replace their current executive with a leadership prepared to fight. For now it is most important that pressure is put on the existing executive to rejoin the pay campaign and ballot their members for an all-out strike to win.

By a Society member
DHSS Hackney

We have the power to win

CPSA MEMBERS in Newcastle welcome and fully support the decision to ballot for an all-out national strike. It is the only strategy to win and the only alternative to the imposition of a settlement based on regional, merit and flexible pay.

Members in the North East, and certainly within my own branch, do not need convincing about the reasons for a national strike. Their only fears are "How will we survive?" and "Can we win?"

The fact is that as the administrators of the entire country, a powerful bargaining position in itself, our union's industrial strength will have a devastating impact if we are prepared to use it.

However, it is not enough just to campaign for a YES vote. We must demonstrate to members that we are capable of organising a strike and therefore serious about winning.

Although no-one can ever guarantee victory, we can gain members' trust and confidence by dealing with the bureaucratic tasks involved and, armed with the necessary organisation, prove we can win this strike.

In our region we have held members' rallies in most towns, and the response has been tremendous. Queries raised were not questioning the NEC's decision, but simply regarding the financial problems we face.

We have already established a Central Strike Committee, with local strike centres throughout the region, already contacted all financial institutions with the aim of reducing financial commitments of members during the strike.

We have contacted the media and held several interviews with local papers and worked for the last 14 weeks with the claimants' organisations, trades councils and local Labour Parties, who will be looking for financial and moral support in the coming weeks.

Thus we have been able to demonstrate our commitment to the dispute and build members' confidence to face up to the most difficult decision of their lives.

Our strength, never before utilised, must be brought to bear upon this government to force a change both in our pay and conditions and that of the claimants.

If enthusiasm alone could have won this battle, we would have secured victory weeks ago, but armed with a young, radical membership, massive industrial muscle and the organisation behind us, we have the ability to win.

By Terry Martin,
Secretary CPSA DHSS
Newcastle Central Office Branch

London Labour Party conference

Socialism under siege in London

THE 1987 REGIONAL conference of the Greater London Labour Party meets at a time when the Party in the capital is under unprecedented attack from all sides.

The new Tory government has thrown down the gauntlet to local government, especially in London. The press continues with its obsession about the 'loony left', that was its daily diet during the election. And unfortunately many of the national leaders of the Labour Party have taken up this same argument.

London effect

Neil Kinnock's aide, Patricia Hewitt, in a leaked letter after the Greenwich by-election defeat, blamed the 'loony London effect'. Right wing Labour MP, Joe Ashton, refers disparagingly to "that lot in London".

The London Party conference must consider the real lessons of the 1987 election. The Party nationally will need a victory in Greater London if it is to form a majority government next time. Yet on June 11 Labour failed to

win even one of its 24 target seats in London, and actually sustained three further losses—Fulham, Battersea and Walthamstow.

But it was not the left, loony or otherwise, that was responsible for these dismal results.

Nick Raynsford in Fulham was supposed to be the epitome of the new right wing 'yuppie' Labour Party. Walworth Road was even having a video of his campaign made as a shining example of the 'new' campaigning style.

The 'loony local authority' argument does not hold water either. Islington, Lambeth, Camden and Southwark have all had their share of media mudslinging. But in terms of the general London result they did well, both in terms of swings to Labour and increased votes. The results in right wing Labour boroughs were worse than in these reputedly left councils.

And in the boroughs of Ealing, Waltham Forest and Hammersmith and Fulham the 50 to 60 per cent rate rises imposed by Labour councils, following the advice of Labour's right wing national leaders, produced some catastrophic

results.

This is the only really visible 'London effect'. It is in stark contrast to the result in Liverpool and to a lesser extent Lambeth, who refused to bend to Kinnock's blackmail and fought demands for massive rate and rent rises.

Right losses

In general left candidates achieved substantially better results than right wingers. Even in Waltham Forest, whilst right winger Eric Deakin lost safe Labour Walthamstow, hard left, Harry Cohen, held on to Leyton. In Newham, left wing Tony Banks consolidated Labour's hold on Newham NW, while in the similar seat of Newham South, right winger, Nigel Spearing, has almost turned it into a Labour marginal.

Other lefts, like Jeremy Corbyn in Islington North and Stuart Holland in Vauxhall achieved far better results than right wingers in similar seats. In Bermondsey, John Bryan standing as a workers' MP on a worker's wage increased the Labour vote by a magnificent 23 per cent.

But just when London

needs to build on these results, and to construct a fighting left leadership to counteract the new Tory onslaught, there is the possibility that the right wing/Labour Co-ordinating Committee could take control of Labour's Regional Executive Committee. For the first time since the mid seventies the left could be in a minority on this body.

This is a reflection of the shift to the right by the Labour and trade union leaders, but also of the failure of the 'GLC-left' leadership over the past ten years to build fighting campaigns.

They preferred to 'caucus and committee', rather than struggle to build a fighting campaign with the council workforces and trade unions. Then having failed to carry the fight through many of them have moved sharply to the right.

The task now is to build a fighting left leadership in London to resist the massive attacks Thatcher plans on the working class.

By George Williamson

(Greater London Labour Party Executive, personal capacity)

Councils must fight back

LONDON LABOUR councils face devastating attacks from the Tories. The measures outlined in the Queen's speech add up to the "virtual abolition" of local government, according to the Financial Times.

By John Bulaitis and Willie Griffin

The Tories plan to destroy the powers of local authorities, compel them to privatise even housing and break up the Inner London Education Authority. On top of all this comes the threat of astronomical 'rate rises' with the introduction of the new poll tax. A family of four in Haringey will have to pay £1748, instead of their current rates' bill of £670.

For the past two years, in an attempt to defend jobs and services, many London Labour councils have used various creative accountancy tricks. They have sold off council property and assets, even council house bath taps, to finance companies, in return for short term cash, and then leased them back over a longer period.

Rather than standing firm and fighting to win extra resources from the government, they chose instead to postpone the day of reckoning. Their whole strategy was based on the hope of Labour winning the general election, and bailing them out.

Now the Tory government is pressuring city financiers to refuse to make further loans, and to pull out of existing deals. All other creative accountancy options are now exhausted or illegal.

Eight London Labour councils face between them a budget gap of £500 million. Camden Labour group leaders are talking of 'damage limitation' measures, involving over 1,000 redundancies.

Labour in London faces a stark choice—resist and build a campaign of defiance against the government, or 'reluctantly' pass on the cuts in a 'humanitarian' way.

A document drawn up by Margaret Hodge, leader of Islington Council and agreed by the Association of London Authorities' Labour group speaks of "unpleasant choices". But defying the government she says "has been tried, failed and discredited". That is what she thinks about a real struggle.

'Discredited' in whose eyes? Not surely in the eyes of the Liverpool working class who recorded the finest results for Labour in the country at the general election, with a 10 per cent swing. A ten per cent swing across London would have returned Labour to government.

In March 1985 ten London Labour councils stood alongside Liverpool, including Margaret Hodge's Islington. Despite fiery speeches they all followed the advice of the national

leadership, beat a hasty retreat and left the Liverpool and Lambeth councillors to face the retribution of the District Auditor alone.

And now Labour councillors in Southwark and other councils face surcharge like Liverpool, even though they failed to see the struggle through. The attack on these councillors must be fought by the whole labour movement.

Even in Lambeth, where council leader, Linda Bellos, has opposed the Hodge strategy, the council has passed a cuts' budget this year. This includes cuts in the housing repair budget in a borough with 27,000 outstanding repairs. £10 million has been saved by not filling vacancies. Lambeth has currently 22 per cent of jobs in social services and 23 per cent in housing unfilled.

Liverpool effect

During the general election campaign there was enormous discontent voiced on working class estates in London over the performance of Labour councils, failing to solve the everyday problems. In Liverpool the record of the council was an inspiration to the voters.

On the key issue of housing, 200,000 London homes are unfit for human habitation, 50,000 people are registered homeless and 243,000 households are on the waiting list, yet only 4,600 council or housing association homes are being built.

This London Labour Party conference is the most important for decades. The conference must hammer out a strategy for action by the London labour movement in defence of jobs and services, and the Regional Executive must be charged with the responsibility of organising this struggle.

It has to be based on a programme of London Labour councils refusing to pass on cuts or massive rate rises to the city's workers. Labour councillors could spearhead a struggle drawing in tenants and local authority trade unionists, around the demand that the government restore the millions of pounds stolen in grants from London over the last eight years.

Already there have been large meetings held of local authority stewards in Hackney and elsewhere. The call for a conference of local authority stewards across London is gathering support.

If Labour's Regional Executive and the local council leaders are not prepared to act, then individual Labour Parties, local authority shop stewards committees and tenants' associations will have to come together to co-ordinate the fight.

A fightback in London is not just the only way to protect jobs and services, but it can rally the working class to Labour and rebuild the Party's fortunes in the capital.

Defend the left

THE LONDON Labour Party must resist the attempt from NUPE to fundamentally change the composition of the Regional Executive. It is suggesting a reduction in the Executive from 53 to 35 places, including a cut from two to one in the Young Socialists' seats.

Press reports talk of NUPE attacking "the self-appointed prophets" who "appear as the voice of Labour

in London".

It is a pity that NUPE, which has lined up with the left in the past, has apparently allowed itself to be taken in by the arguments of the Labour right and of the Tories about the London Party, rather than helping to build a fighting left leadership for London Labour that will campaign with determination on all the issues facing the working class of the capital.



London Labour Party Conference Militant Public Meeting Crisis in London local government

Sunday 12 July 12.30 pm
Walworth Town Hall, Walworth
Road (opposite LP HQ)
Speakers:-Tony Mulhearn
(surcharged Liverpool councillor)
Lawrence Hemming (Hackney
Council shop steward)

Socialist summer camp

Why the unions need politics

MILITANT CONTINUES its series on the courses at the Socialist Summer Camp with a review of "The trade unions and the struggle for socialism".

EVER SINCE capitalist industry was developed, workers have combined and defended themselves through trade unions. The unions are still the basic unit of class organisation, fighting against the bosses' attacks and for improved wages and conditions.

Britain is the country of classical trade unionism; the first unions appeared around the time of the French revolution. The Tolpuddle Martyrs were transported 150 years ago.

But 'pure' trade unionism, merely concentrating on economic struggle with individual employers, can not survive for long. Once workers organise, their struggles spill over the boundaries of trade unionism.

Interests

Workers turn to political action as the only way of protecting their right to organise, and as an additional front where they can fight for members' interests. Above all workers struggle to take society out of the control of the employers.

The session on "Chartism and the early history of the unions" shows how, by the mid nineteenth century, the British working class was already engaged in mass action for directly political ends. Later the unions, especially the 'new' unskilled, general unions created the Labour Party.

Marxists fight hard for every immediate demand of trade unionists in struggle. But they always bring forward the political questions. Any gains workers make, particularly in this era of capitalist decay, can only be lastingly maintained, with the socialist transformation of society.

Lenin described union activity and strike action as: "A school of war". The working class best sees both the class nature of society and its own collective strength to change it during



Printworkers, who were amongst the best organised trade unionists, faced both vicious employers and the state machine in their recent Wapping dispute.

such struggles. Workers learn from both victory and defeat. In particular they test in action the different leaderships within their organisations. When members saw the inability and unwillingness of the right wing leaderships of the CPSA and the NCU to conduct a determined struggle, they pushed those unions to the left.

The onset of capitalist crisis has ended that era when it was thought trade unions could win reforms through skilled negotiators, rather than class fighters at their head. Even then, behind the most capable negotiator, stood the strength of the membership.

In an era of economic crisis, union leaders can become policemen of the movement for the employers, voluntarily restraining workers' demands to the level the 'hard pressed' bosses' profits can stand. The alternative is to transform the unions into weapons of struggle prepared to stand up to all attacks from employers and government. They will then openly join the political fight to end the capitalist system.

After Thatcher's third victory, right wing AEU leader, Bill Jordan, whimpers that engineering workers have no alternative but to give up some hard won working practices, in return for minimum reductions in hours.

This 'new unionism' is merely a meek substitute

for traditional trade union struggle.

Union leaders, who are often divorced from the problems of their membership, can easily become integrated with the government and the capitalist state through Royal Commissions, the boards of nationalised industries, and bodies like NEDC and the MSC.

They often start to talk of the "national interest" and the state of the economy. Yet there is no unified national interest, and the economy is based on capitalist exploitation of their members. Unions must protect the interests of the majority, working class nation.

Any gains workers make, particularly in this era of capitalist decay, can only be lastingly maintained, with the socialist transformation of society.

When these methods fail to control the workers, the ruling class openly attacks union rights. Heath in 1971 tried the Industrial Relations Act, and Thatcher's government has legislated against the unions in 1982 and 1984, and is planning more attacks shortly.

But what organised workers have written in struggle cannot be unwritten for long by capitalist law. Even the 1926 general strike was declared illegal. Heath's Act generated such

mass opposition in action, that it became a dead letter. With a fighting union leadership, Thatcher would fare no better.

Marxists stand for the complete independence of the unions from the state.

But for all the capitalists' pressure on them, the union tops are under the contradictory pressure of the workers. The session "BLOC—a new minority movement" looks at the minority movement in the 1920s and the perspective for the Broad Lefts now developing in many unions.

The Broad Lefts fight the growing together of the leadership with the capitalist state. They are building a fighting movement on an open left programme that will bring forward committed left leaders, as the CPSA Broad Left has succeeded with the election of John Macreadie.

The unions, particularly in Britain where there is one united federation in the TUC, are potentially the most powerful force in society. Lenin or Trotsky never envisaged more than a minority of workers organising under capitalism. Yet despite unemployment and closures, 45 per cent of the British working class are still unionised.

A leadership prepared to wield that organised power, would make the labour and trade union movement unconquerable.

By Peter Jarvis



"THIS MORNING I was on a CPSA picket line at my local DHSS office along with a new YS member," writes Tina Hull from Nottingham.

"We stayed and talked with the pickets, then I asked the person next to me if they'd buy a Militant. Straightaway they all rushed to buy one." As it was the last day of that issue and Tina only had seven papers on her she agreed to come back the day after.

When she did, she sold another nine, "leaving only one picket without a paper and he was going to read a friend's. One lad gave £1 for his paper, one

joined the SCPS Broad Left and four joined the Labour Party." Tina is now going to start a regular Friday sale there.

Make sure Militant is sold at every DHSS building, job centre and UBO. Sellers at the pre ballot rally organised by CPSA sold over 100 Militants.

Sellers in Paisley report 36 sales outside Gilmour Street rail station. In Livingston, sellers went out on the streets, selling 30 in Saturday's blazing heat and another 20 on a local estate. They tell us the real work starts from Monday and Tuesday.

Make sure your area continues the boost we got from the election. Keep our sales going up and up.

Help us!

WANT to know ways you can help sell Militant? Phone Circulation Dept: 01-533-3311

LEFT and RIGHT

Careers advice

SO YOU want to be a successful criminal? Blue collar crime is a bit risky; you could be put away and you have to be pretty big for the rough stuff. Best bet is insider dealing. Get into the inner circle of the financial market and then use your inside knowledge of take over bids to make a nice profit for yourself.

If you get found out, like Geoffrey Collier did, the prosecution may call you a few names but like Collier, all you'll probably get is a suspended sentence and a fine equal to about a year's bonus.

Safe in Tory hands

AND REST assured that the 'new' Tory government won't act any more precipitately than the old in stopping yuppie crime. Labour Research say that two thirds of Tory MPs went to fee paying schools so the old boy network should be intact. 122 Tory MPs are company directors who know the terrible pressures business people come under. The law's fury against top peoples' pilfering won't be increased by the 40 barristers, 19 solicitors and 17 Lloyds underwriters on the Conservative benches either.

Stone Age Stalinism

BEING TOP is lucrative in the Stalinist USSR too. Gorbachev has access to a nice little retreat down by the Black Sea.

A former Tsarist palace in Yalta, the Livadia boasts a 150 foot lift down to the private beach and an Olympic size swimming pool, enclosed by electronic sliding doors made out of solid rock!

Vladimir Sushkov former USSR deputy trade minister liked playing with rocks too. He is on trial for allegedly collecting 1565 diamond pendants, gold brooches and rings worth more than £1 million in bribes from foreign businesses.

The new glasnost approach is designed to punish the Sushkovs before workers move against the whole bureaucracy, who are guilty of stealing the fruits of the workers' revolution.

Socialist summer camp
8-15 August
Forest of Dean
Gloucestershire

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MP warns of crisis ahead

Pat Wall's maiden speech

DESPITE ALL the efforts of the rich and powerful to prevent his election to the House of Commons, Pat Wall MP made his maiden speech on Wednesday 1 July.

"I can honestly claim that the Conservative party in attempting to prevent me speaking in this House, spent more money during the last two elections than has ever been spent against any candidate," he said. "We estimate at least £250,000 was spent on newspaper advertisements."

He suggested the Tories stick to the issues in future. "I cannot promise they will get better results ... but at least it will be much cheaper."

Platitudes

The debate was dominated by maiden speeches which kept to the parliamentary tradition of flattering the MP's predecessor. For example, Pat was followed by Mrs. Teresa Gorman who had the difficult task of saying nice things about Harvey Proctor.

Cutting through the parliamentary platitudes, Pat reminded the Tories of the devastation they have wreaked on Bradford and its surroundings and the hopes they have dashed.

"When I arrived in Bradford 18 years ago, it was at the time of the building of the M62..." which was to bring renewed prosperity to the industrial areas of Lancashire, west, north and south Yorkshire.

Now, it runs from "redundant Liverpool, through de-industrialised Lancashire and west Yorkshire. It bisects north and south Yorkshire, with the closed steel mills and empty pit villages of two eras of MacGregor. It ends in the port of unemployed Hull, where today there are not even any fishing boats."

The Tories' programme offered nothing to Bradford. "It is not the hiving off of some of our better schools in the better-off areas to be the privileged



Pat Wall goes into the House of Commons for the first time, with Liverpool MP, Terry Fields.

bastions of the upper-middle class that we need ...; it is the rebuilding of the one third of our schools that were built before 1904.

"It is not the hiving off of our housing estates that we need; we need repayment to help with the backlog, amounting to £130 million, to refurbish housing in our city. That sum represents the amount we would get in 10 years from the housing investment programme."

The Tories called the election a year early because we were on the brink of the third major post-war recession. "I have

to tell the good people of East Anglia and the Thames Valley, the majority of whom voted for the Conservative party in the last two elections, that a further crisis will hit the south more than the rest of the country.

Socialism

"It will hit the service and financial sectors. The good people of those areas may find that their dreams will turn to ashes tomorrow, like the dreams of Bradford, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle and other workers over the past

ten years."

"I believe that we shall not see the death and abolition of socialism. The people in the south-east and the more prosperous areas will learn, like those in Bradford, ... that socialism is more relevant than ever."

Education minister, Kenneth Baker, was forced to reply that this was a "rigorous attack on capitalism" and a "vigorous defence of old-style socialism". Naturally, he was not converted but he can expect a good many more such attacks in future.

More witch-hunters on the warpath

Leith

LEITH LABOUR Party has passed a resolution demanding an inquiry into the conduct of the Labour Party Young Socialists and *Militant* supporters during the election campaign.

This surprising decision was taken despite being vehemently opposed by Ron Brown MP and his election agent Ron Taylor.

The attack was led by former Marxist and ex-left leader of Edinburgh District Council, Alex Wood. He used the spurious argument that the bold campaign launched by the LPYS before the election campaign was a 'diversion' and not conducted under the 'discipline of the party'.

Yet Wood himself was recently pulled before the District Labour Party for saying that the Council Labour group had "kicked council tenants in the teeth by putting up the rents".

The 'liberal' wing within the party voted enthusiastically for the resolution, mostly from fear that the ideas of Marxism were gaining ground.

Not dismayed by this attempt to stifle the ideas of Marxism in Leith, the LPYS and *Militant* supporters, who proudly boast the most consistent campaigning record, will continue to fight for our ideas.

Eddisbury

EDDISBURY LABOUR Party in Cheshire will hold its first meeting since the election next week.

An 'investigation team' is proposed to look into spurious allegations made by vindictive right-wingers against nine individuals.

This is a farce. Only last year a legal challenge

stopped the expulsion of three *Militant* supporters, Karon Murphy, Winnie Murphy and Peter Naylor. They are now being investigated again.

The party's executive also proposes to disband the Young Socialists branch. They are accused of spending more time attacking Labour than the Tories, although they worked not just in Eddisbury in the election, but also in the marginal seats of Chester and Broadgreen.

We are confident the loony right will be defeated again.

Rotherham

ROTHERHAM RIGHT-WINGERS have rushed into battle with long-standing socialists too.

On Wednesday 1 July, Kevin Gill, a member of the LPYS for six years, was unconstitutionally expelled for his political beliefs.

The Rotherham right-wing have conjured up their own 'constitutional' procedures: pledges and loyalty oaths, and a 'rule' that party members are not allowed to pay more than 30p for a *Militant*, sell it or stand on *Militant* platforms.

Kevin was expelled for not signing their loyalty oath. A campaign for his reinstatement is already underway.

Now Rotherham Labour Party is investigating Dave Platts. He recently had to win his place as a delegate to his union conference through a High Court injunction, an indication that Marxists will not allow bureaucratic manoeuvres to stand in their way.

Messages of support to: K. Gill, 34 St. Johns Avenue, Marsborough, Rotherham S60 1HZ.

By Militant reporters

Fighting Fund

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 London	4487		9400
2 Northern	1973		4600
3 Scotland East	1067		2800
4 East Midlands	1127		3250
5 Scotland West	1229		3500
6 Wales	1417		4850
7 West Midlands	1365		4850
8 Yorkshire	2297		4850
9 Eastern	753		8450
10 South West	481		3050
11 Merseyside	1728		1900
12 Southern	584		7500
13 Manchester	648		3100
14 South East	255		4050
15 National	11714		2250
Total	31124		6950
Total	27522		70000

IT IS A bit late for this year's Wimbledon, but if you've got a spare £70,000, you can book yourself a marquee for next year, complete with centre court tickets and presumably a few bottles of 'champers'.

Tennis not your game? Never mind, the British Golf Open will only set you back £18,000, a box at Twickenham £4,000, or a marquee at Henley regatta a mere £3125.

Or, if you really fancy travelling in style, how about a horse-drawn carriage to Ascot at £2725?

But, if you want to get rid of the parasites who do the rounds of the 'social season' by fighting for socialism, you can give your money to the *Militant* Fighting Fund. Last week, a *Daily Mail*

article, 'The Tendency Strikes Back', said, "The Fighting Fund is bulging." The round-up of collections at meetings shows how eager workers are to help build our paper: Over £1,000 was raised in London, with £383 in Bermondsey, in Newcastle £257, Bristol £149, Sunderland £105, Cheshire £93, Teeside £91, Manchester £86, Leicester £80, Chesterfield £67, Birmingham £61, Leeds £71 and Blackburn £18.

We have had a brilliant start with over £31,000 coming in this quarter so far. But it's not the start any more! There are only four weeks to go!

Let's show the bosses that our fund is not just bulging, but overflowing! Look at your area on the chart. What can you

do to help it go over target? Have you been down to your nearest CPSA workplace to sell the paper and ask for cash? Who can you approach for a donation with our new appeal sheet? Make it easy and make a list. Let's go for the full £70,000 and prove that the fightback against Thatcher has started in earnest.

Thanks this week to John Byrne, Manchester councillor, £17; From Walsall, Gill Lees, £4.70; Neil Timmons, AEU, £8.50; Andy Price, CPSA, £2.10; Dave Sims, GMBATU, £2.10; Simon Styche, unemployed, £2.10; D. Murphy, Huddersfield, £9.25; Wythenshawe bus workers, £9.25; COHSE conference £238.

A Tory success story?

Docks des and

THE TORIES want to repeat what they have done to London's docklands in inner cities all over the country.

They brag about the 'success' of the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC). Whole areas of London have been rebuilt. But the Docklands' working class residents have found that the changes are not for their sake, but to provide expensive housing for the spivs who are doing well out of Thatcher's candy-floss economy.

Environment Secretary, Nicholas Ridley, showed that the Tories think the only obstacle to beautifying the inner cities is the people living there. He complained about "rows and rows of council houses and tower blocks" making cities unattractive to the right class of resident.

In Docklands, they have solved this problem by destroying industry, selling off council estates and pushing out working class communities. Council waiting lists grow, so as Yuppies can have 'town houses'.

Far from hiding the class differences in society, as the Tories hope, the scheme has created



Thatcher and hangers-on examine LDDC plans.

bitter resentment of the well-off invaders in the East End and South of the River.

The Tories will not be able to

'gentrify' all the inner cities in the country. And where there are Yuppie invasions, they will only prove to the homeless, the low-

paid and the unemployed that the money is there to provide decent jobs and homes, but is spent on fripperies by Thatcher's new rich.

What is the LDDC?

THE TORIES propose to set up development corporations like the LDDC in other inner cities. Why do they want to do this rather than channel the necessary money into existing local authorities?

Development Corporations are another weapon in the Tories' battle with elected councils in urban areas, which of course are mostly Labour controlled.

In 1981, the then minister for the environment, Michael Heseltine, pushed a bill through parliament dealing with local government. One of its provisions was to set up the LDDC.

The LDDC was given sweeping powers to 'develop' docklands and to set up an enterprise zone, which subsidised bosses moving into the area by relaxing normal planning constraints and relieving them of paying rates and several taxes.

Heseltine proposed the chairman be Nigel Brookes, chairman of Trafalgar House, the giant City of London wheeler-dealers. The Tory minister's choice for vice-chairman was Bermondsey Labour MP, Robert Mellish. Mellish took the job despite labour movement opposition to the LDDC, one of several betrayals which led to his breach with Bermondsey Labour Party and the decline of the Labour vote in the area.

The Tories make out that nothing would have happened in docklands but for the LDDC. Yet representatives of the GLC and five London boroughs had drawn up a plan to build 23,000 homes in the area, 40 to 50 per cent of which would have been for rent. By setting up the LDDC the Tories by-passed the GLC and Labour-controlled boroughs. At the start of this year it had used half the available land and had started 7,350 houses, nine per cent of which are for rent.

A local tenant says: "The LDDC are known as the Local Deceive and Destroy Club. They're property speculators who have no interest in decent housing or jobs for local people.

"Before this began, we got a letter saying that the ground was being sold and asking if anyone had any objections. But we found that it didn't matter what objections we have, they are going to do exactly as they please."

Wall street on the water

CANARY WHARF on the Isle of Dogs is the jewel in the LDDC's crown. Described in the press as 'Wall street on the Water', it will be the biggest commercial property development site in Europe.

The project is the icing on the cake to attract stockbroker infiltrators and yuppies into the area. They are flocking in and house prices have soared to unthinkable levels.

16,000 new homes for sale are planned. At least a dozen of the biggest house-building companies are on site in the area at present.

'Cascades' is a luxurious block currently under construction.

'Every detail will speak luxury' according to the brochure. It will

have tennis courts, a swimming pool and gymnasium, a sauna and telex machines.

Porters, close-circuit TV and a computer-controlled key system will guard it. And no wonder! Prices start at £160,000 for a one-bedroomed flat. But if you are thinking of buying one, hard luck! Nearly all the flats have been sold, some of them several times. Nearly half went in the first two hours of trading.

Money

Many workers would like to know where all the money is going in the Tories' artificial boom. Land prices in Docklands give them their answer.

They are going as high as

£1.25million per acre. The money the bosses have taken out of industry has been poured into a 20th century South Sea Bubble.

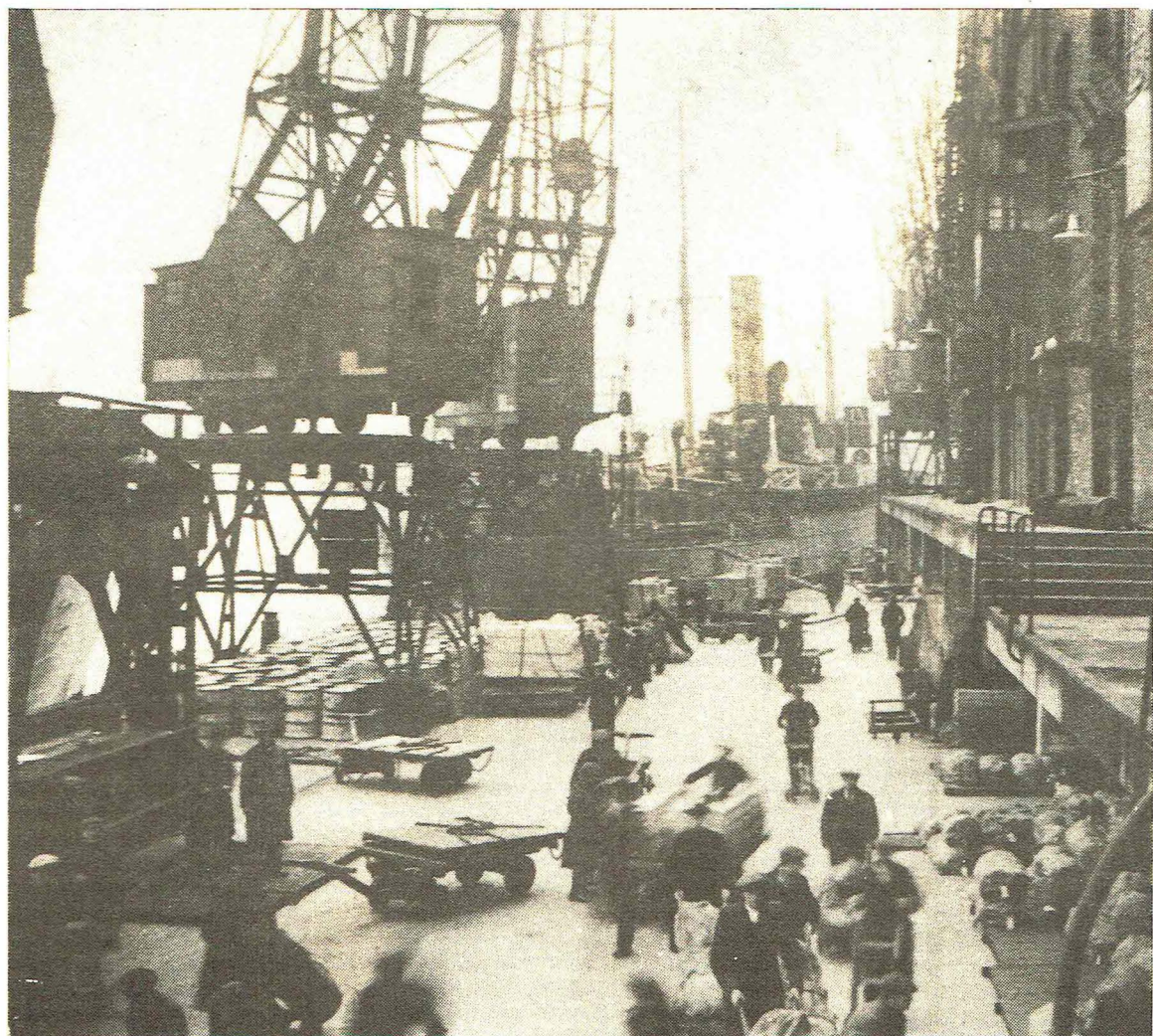
"What we sold for £38,000 in 1980 now goes for £90,000," brags one estate agent.

"Last year we saw an unprecedented growth in prices," enthuses another. "It levelled off last autumn but now with the Conservative government and with the Docklands infrastructure becoming clearer, they are on the move again."

The massive amounts of money swilling around the area are producing no real wealth in terms of manufactured goods. They only make paper fortunes for the spivs who have moved in for the kill.



Devastated; Surrey Docks after the jobs



How the docks used to be: unloading food at Tooley St. wharves.

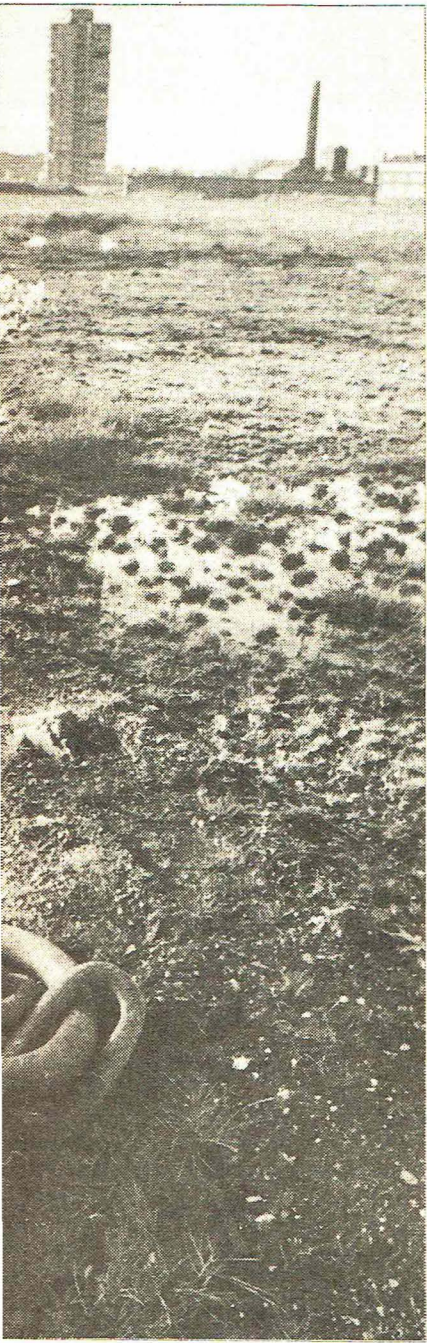
Where are

UP TO 40,000 jobs have been promised by the LDDC, but so far they have not materialised. Nearly 2,000 of the Isle of Dogs' 9,000 population are out of work.

With the abundance of building sites, you would think there would be plenty of jobs for local workers. But the building firms get their labour from rural areas so as to get workers who will put up with low wages and bad conditions.

It is now estimated that more local jobs have been destroyed, through compulsory purchase orders and 'offers that can't be refused' to sell to the property developers, than have been created. For example, 100 jobs are expected to be sacrificed to

Docklands: Destroyed deceived



had gone.

the jobs?

make way for a six lane highway connecting Canary Wharf to the City of London.

"At a recent public meeting, I told the LDDC representatives that they were prepared to see a Singapore style situation here. They will have a captive working class, low paid and at the beck and call of big business. They just laughed," says local Militant supporter Steve Amor.

The jobs that are promised will include YTS, canteen and security work—service jobs that will last as long as the Tories' artificial 'boom'. With that likely to come to an end within months, the LDDC will never deliver most of the jobs they promise.

Local workers pushed out by Yuppie invaders

Death of the docks

THE DOCKLANDS scheme is only possible because of the death of the docks industry and the slaughter of jobs that went with it. The Port of London Authority covered the biggest docks in the world until the late 1970s. Now virtually nothing is left.

CÓN DONOVAN was a docker from 1955 till 1982. He told *Militant* how the employers destroyed the dockers' jobs:

"Before containerisation ships would unload stuff into barges which would fetch it up to wharves along the riverside. Containerisation meant they could unload straight onto lorries who would take the containers to inland depots, cutting out the lightermen, who used to tow the barges, and the dockers, who worked on the quayside."

Lord Vestey

The wharves shut down one by one. One of the first to go was Tooley Street, closed by Lord Vestey, the millionaire who was found to have only paid a pound tax on his fortune a few years ago. Now Vestey has returned to Docklands with a proposal to open up a heliport, which has met vigorous local opposition.

"The employers and the government had been determined to break the dockers since we broke the six per cent barrier imposed by the Tory government in 1958. The employers had capitulated the night we were due to go on strike and once the barrier was broken other workers

poured through the gap and got higher increases too.

"From then on they knew they had to break our power just as latterly they knew they had to break the power of the miners.

"Another reason was the bosses' wish to avoid the Dock Labour Scheme. The dockers had won the battle to end casual labour. So, when the wharves began to shut, the labour that was put out of work had to be taken up by other employers.

"The employers found dodges to get round the scheme. A wharf would shut down and reopen a month later using scab labour.

"We wanted an agreement that dockers had to be employed at any inland berths within half a mile of the waterways. But governments refused. So there were a series of stoppages, culminating in a long strike in the '70s.

"We got a Labour government and we got them to draw up legislation with these guarantees. The government only had a small majority and two Labour rebels stayed in the bar when the bill was being voted on. One of them was Brian Walden. Soon after, he resigned as an MP and got a cushy job on TV.

"From then on the run down of the docks gathered pace. A port which didn't have to employ registered dockers opened at Felixstowe, and severance payments were introduced to whittle down the workforce. There were 30,000 dockers in London then. Now there are 2,500."

West Ferry: the estate they want to hide

MILITANT SUPPORTER, Steve Amor is chairman of the tenants' association on the Westferry Estate on the Isle of Dogs and a member of Millwall Labour Party.

The TA was set up after a meeting with the council's estate management team showed the bitterness on the estate over years of neglect. Steve has been involved in discussions with representatives of the LDDC and the council and gives a tenant's eye view of what is happening on the Island:

"Life on the council estates is very different to how life will be in the luxury flats.

"Cascades' residents will have water taxis ferrying city types to and from work. We face the prospect of losing one of the only two complete bus routes on the Island. London Passenger Transport say it's not used enough!

"Many families live in one or two bedroomed flats with damp, fungus, bad ventilation and heating. They can't move because Tower Hamlets council has not built one council dwelling since 1981. This is what 'shifting resources from the public sector to the private' means to us.

"One tenant complained that because the communal dustbin is next to his flat on the ground floor. He has come home and found a carpet of maggots climbing up his step. He was up till three in the morning destroying them.

"Another told me he wanted to leave the very first day he got here. 'I've even thought of setting fire to the flat to get out,' he says, 'but why should I wreck it when the council is doing it for me?'

"We are now surrounded on three sides by sites building homes valued at around £125,000 plus. The Wimpey site next door starts up at 7.15 a.m. every day, including Sunday, and finishes at dusk.

Piledriving

"We've had pile-driving and arc-lit concrete laying during the night. Because of the pile-driving one house's balcony, serving four flats, needed repairs to avoid disaster.

"We've been offered an environmental improvements grant because the LDDC fear that the ugliness of old tenement blocks will devalue the area.

"There were rumours that this meant they were going to build a 20-foot wall to hide our estate. The response of the youth was that they would pull it down.

"Then they offered to plant shrubs and trees as a disguise. We rejected this. We want improvements to our blocks, safe play areas for the kids, carefully designed planted areas, secure doors and windows, better lighting around the blocks and a launderette on the site."



The rich move in.

Feeling unwelcome

THE RESENTMENT local people feel towards the upper-class colonists can be seen in a letter to the East London Advertiser by someone on the receiving end.

"I have just moved into a new house in Docklands", it reads. "I do actually own a BMW and I and my wife have worked hard to send our children to private school. Apparently this makes us Yuppies.

"In the short time we have been here we have been repeatedly abused in the street by gangs of children and adults. On a first trip to the supposedly friendly East End pub

my wife had beer thrown at her and our car was vandalised. Our only 'crime' being apparently that we were considered to be Yuppies."

For socialists, fist-fights and vandalism are no solution. Many local workers have found a constructive outlet for their resentment by campaigning against the LDDC and demanding their money be spent on decent homes for working class people. In Bermondsey campaigners have joined the Labour Party to fight for the socialist policies that will ensure that this happens.

Revolt in South Korea

Socialist solution needed to safeguard democracy

THE PROMISE of elections by South Korea's President Chun has failed to end the revolutionary ferment in society. Tens of thousands of students have continued to challenge the riot police with increasing boldness. In this article CLARE DOYLE examines some of the intractable problems driving the masses into struggle, and outlines a socialist way forward.

Life under military rule in Korea has frayed nerves to breaking point in every layer of society. There has been no press freedom since 1950. Each day 13 officials of the Ministry of Culture and Information (!) drew up the day's instructions to the media. 700 journalists have been removed by the government in the recent period and now produce an underground magazine. The editor of the last issue is now being hunted as a dangerous 'communist'.

Arbitrary arrests and brutal torture have been commonplace under the auspices of the hated National Security Act. The Guardian of 6 June reported the arrest and torture of a man accused, along with 15 others, of being a member of an illegal labour group called the South Seoul Workers' Federation. He was given the 'water torture', to deter him from such 'subversive' activity.

Murder

The fires of the recent mass protest were particularly fuelled by revelations of the murder of a student, Park Chong Chol, whose throat was crushed against the rim of a bath tub by members of the elite anti-communist unit of the police. Such was the outcry that a Prime Minister, three cabinet ministers, a national police chief and the head of the Intelligence Service had to be sacked!

For students, workers and the middle layers in Korean society the introduction of limited reforms will not suffice. They will be demanding a complete purging of the state apparatus and the trial of all those responsible for the horrors of the past decades.

Even businessmen, bankers and stockbrokers have joined the demonstrations of recent weeks. They have a material interest in the establishment of democracy, a free press etc. Military rule is a restraint on the market economy as well as a massive drain on resources.

The continued occupation of Korea by more than 40,000 US troops has seen a growth in anti-American and nationalist sentiment. In a country where the average per capita income has increased tenfold between 1960 and 1980, Koreans resent being treated like a third world country

by the Americans.

South Koreans feel that the US has failed to live up to its claim to be a protector of democracy. They hold them responsible for the carnage that ended the 1980 Kwangju uprising, knowing that a four-star US general has to approve any South Korean troop movements.

Approval

Reagan in the past has shown unqualified approval of President Chun's regime and US Secretary of State, George Schultz, as recently as May criticised the opposition leaders for "seeking to incite violence".

The Americans are seen as deliberately maintaining the North-South division of the Korean peninsula in order to safeguard their investments (now greater than those of Japan) and their options for strategic military bases. Reunification of the country is still dreamed of, but is impossible on the basis of either capitalism or Stalinism.

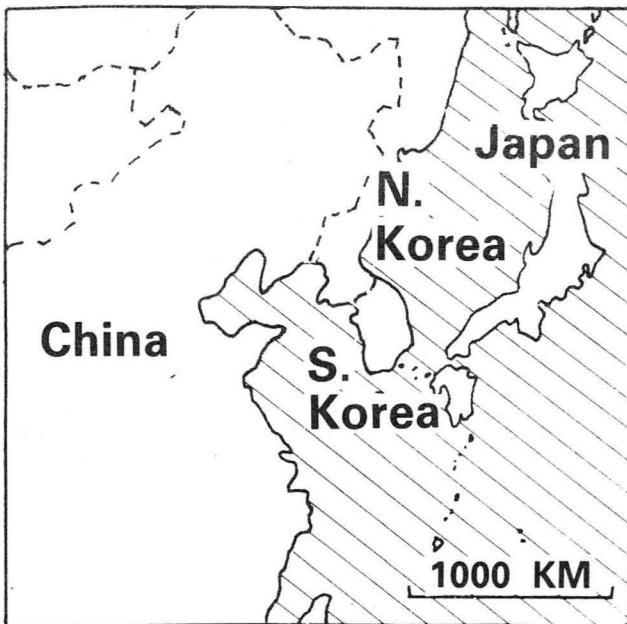
The monolithic bureaucratic dictatorship of the North holds no attraction for the people of the South. Each regime uses the other as a 'bogey' to frighten its people.

A genuine socialist party would argue for the socialist transformation of society in the South, on the basis of a publicly-owned planned economy under democratic workers' control and management. It would argue for a struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the North and for the establishment of real workers' democracy through the political revolution. Only then, on a socialist basis could the peninsula of Korea be reunited.

Reunification

Reunification will continue to be a burning issue, one of many that will face an incoming democratically elected president. Capitalist strategists—especially in the US—fear the pressure that would be exerted from below on any democratic government to take real measures in the interests of working people.

It is no accident that Kwangju saw the biggest demonstration at the end of last month. It is the capital of Cholla province, homeland of Kim Dae Jung, and has been deprived of most of the benefits of South



Korea's economic boom. Anger persists at the crushing of the uprising of 1980.

For five days the city had its own alternative government and citizens' army. The paratroops, led by Chun and Roh Tae Woo, carried out every barbarous atrocity in the book. "I saw women with their breasts cut off. I heard of disembowelling. I saw a youngster whose head had been smashed into what looked exactly like porridge." (An Irish priest who witnessed the events). Up to 2,000 people perished.

The flood of angry protest against the Chun dictatorship has threatened to sweep away even the US presence. The consulate in Pusan was attacked. The Stars and Stripes were burned in the streets. No wonder Reagan changed tack and wrote personally to Chun advising him to 'exercise restraint'.

But "restraint" could not save Chun, and will not save any future 'democratic' government from explosive struggles for real change. The granting of direct elections, the promise of a free press, human

rights and other democratic reforms will only increase the appetite of the workers in the cities and on the land.

Massive profits have been accumulated by big business at the expense of large sections of workers in Korea, where poverty wages are a concomitant of repression and lack of trade union rights. Demands for a minimum wage, a maximum week, for nationalisation of the conglomerates would find fertile ground in the period that opens up. The aspirations of the 10 million Koreans still dependent on the land would also be aroused.

Bankruptcies

In the summer of 1984 farming families had debts averaging 23 million won (\$3,070) per household. An article in a far eastern review reports: "Bankruptcies of farm households are constant occurrences in every area of the country. Incidences of abandoning farms and running away under the cover of darkness, ... and suicide by ingesting agricultural chemicals are increasingly

For students, workers and the middle layers in Korean society the introduction of limited reforms will not suffice.

common..."

The government's policies have led to a dramatic increase in the number of absentee "comprador" landowners through the seizure of farm property by big city conglomerates and real estate agents.

No government that fails to tackle big business and the banks will ever be able to carry through the real agricultural reform that is needed—just as in the Philippines. President Aquino, a big landowner herself, is unable to carry through the programme that her peasant supporters have longed for.

On a capitalist basis not one of the tasks of the 'bourgeois democratic' revolution can be completed—agricultural reform, unification of the country, expulsion of the imperialist powers or even the guarantee of basic democratic rights.

Yet even the most radical of the existing opposition leaders, Kim Dae-Jung, shows a complete lack of understanding of the need to break with capitalism. His model is the capitalist state of West Germany, and he is in favour of less state intervention than that practised by the Chun regime. Many students and others in society distrust the RDP leaders as too moderate.

Confusion and uncertainty could be cut across by a party that could explain the processes and prepare for the future battles. Marxists, able to do this and to link up the demands of all sec-

tions of working people in a clear programme, would gain support rapidly, even amongst the ranks of the RDP.

The trade unions should mushroom. A rapid growth of workers' organisations might provoke attempts at new repression or a new coup. Further heroic struggles would be on the order of the day.

Programme

The Korean students and workers have a fine tradition of struggle. Allied with the programme of Marxism they would be unconquerable. They would appeal to the army as they appealed to the police in the course of the recent demonstrations. They would appeal to the workers of the North to carry through the political revolution. They would appeal to the workers of Japan and the rest of Asia to carry through the socialist revolution.

The movement in Korea has undoubtedly been greatly influenced by the unfolding of the Philippine revolution. That in turn will feed on the new developments in South Korea.

They would set off a mighty political upheaval in China, Vietnam etc—a socialist 'domino' effect which could sweep through the continent in the next five, ten or fifteen years. But the socialist transformation of just one Asian country will lead to the ending of capitalism and landlordism in the whole continent.

Australia prepares for elections on 11 July

No enthusiasm for Labor's austerity

AS 11 JULY, Australia's polling day, draws nearer, Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke's confident expectation of victory is looking less certain. Opinion polls, which three weeks ago predicted a Labor landslide, now show the opposition closing the gap.

If the polls are correct, a huge advantage has been squandered.

The capitalist opposition parties have been blighted by months of bitter splits, and there is widespread fear of the reactionary, Thatcherite policies of the Liberal (Tory) party.

But the most striking feature of the election campaign has been the complete absence of the enthusiasm among Labor's massive working-class base that existed in the 1983 election.

Launched in Sydney's prestigious Opera House, Hawke's "glitzy" presidential style campaign (sound familiar?) carries one enormous handicap: the four-year track record of Labor's right-wing leadership. Economically, it is "the most rightwing government Australia has ever had", admits John Wheeldon, a former Labor cabinet minister.

The government boasts that its pay pact with the unions has cut real wages by five per cent. In fact, the fall in living standards is at least twice as great.

In his May mini-budget, Labor's Treasurer (chancellor) Keating abolished dole payments for under-18 year olds, a policy filched directly from the Liberal manifesto. Hawke's election slogan, "Let's stick together—let's see it through", is an unmistakable signal of more austerity to come.

In justification, Labor's right wing cite Australia's crippling economic problems. Overwhelmingly dependent on its mineral and agricultural exports, the collapse of world commodity prices has wrought economic havoc.

Yet, while workers have paid dearly for capitalism's failings, the super-rich have prospered.

Ivin Malaza memorial fund

MONEY CONTINUES to come in from workers up and down the country: £71 from members of the IRSF in Cumberland, Scotland; £30 from the Wales and SW Regional Committee of the CPSA along with a cash collection of £33; and £30 from CPSA Broad Left supporters in the area; £175 from Yorkshire (including £125 collected at the Yorkshire Miners' Gala), £130 from Merseyside and £18 from Belfast socialists.

Individuals have also sacrificed. £50 came from Theresa and Roger Mackay in Ipswich, and £48 from socialists in Nottingham and Chesterfield.

£200 has been sent from labour movement activists in Holland. Cork Anti-Apartheid has donated £50, and the Workers' Solidarity Movement in Cork another £10. Our thanks also to Emmet's relations in that city for their excellent £55.

All these donations show the outrage of ordinary workers at the murder of a workers' leader in South Africa by a government-armed death squad under the control of Gatsha Buthelezi. More funds are vital to continue Ivin's work. Appeal sheets, posters and information can be obtained from:

Cllr Lynn Faulkes, 143B Amhurst Road, London E8 2AW.

By Laurence Coates

Australia's stock exchange is now the world's sixth-largest. A host of Aussie multi-millionaires are pushing their way up the international league table.

Rupert Murdoch, Holmes A'Court, Kerry Packer and Alan Bond are representatives of the millionaire class that have thrived under Labor.

Small wonder, then, that "much of big business, a bit reluctantly, will probably put its money and its votes in the Labor camp" (*Sunday Telegraph*, 28 June).

Murdoch's titles, and indeed most of the bosses' press, are backing Hawke's re-election. The notion of the loony-right *Sun* or the *Times* supporting Labour in Britain defies imagination!

But as one businessman commented: "A government which robs Peter to pay Paul can always depend on the support of Paul".

This is the cynical calculation of Australia's ruling class—to heap the misery of wage cuts upon the working class, using the brokerage of a Labor government.

If Labor win on 11 July, it will be as a result of the enormous loyalty of Australia's working class to the oldest labour party in the world. It will not be because of Hawke's "high-profile, low-key", largely non-political campaign.

Neither will it represent approval of the disastrous record of the past four years. Growing disenchantment among Labor voters has manifested itself in a number of by-elections.

But the Liberals, too, have suffered in recent by-elections. A Liberal government would at-



"March for jobs" by Parramatta Young Labor to Sydney on 2 May. Raising socialist demands to end youth unemployment, the march got widespread media coverage.

tempt a policy of open class warfare against the working class. They promise sweeping privatisation and "the biggest public spending reductions Australia has seen" (Liberal leader John Howard, 26 June).

Union battles

Their anti-union stance will sound alarm bells among millions of working-class Australians, as will the Liberal plan to outlaw the closed shop in a country where 55 per cent of workers are unionised. A Liberal victory would eventually trigger massive trade union battles. It is the fear of unleashing a potential industrial hurricane that leads sections of

big business to favour Hawke. Thus, notwithstanding growing working-class disillusionment, an urge to keep out the Liberals could still see Bob Hawke get back in.

In that event, the champagne celebrations will be brief. Labor's pay accord with the unions cannot survive the pressures of a new economic recession. The patience of Australian workers has been stretched to breaking point.

A clear socialist alternative, put forward by any section of the working-class leadership, would galvanise their traditional militancy and set an unstoppable wave in motion that would spell an end to capitalism itself.

Support Indian postal workers

FOLLOWING THE severe defeat of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's party in the recent Haryana state election, further blows are being inflicted on the capitalist government by the working class of India.

32,000 Central Public Works Department workers have defied an anti-labour law and went on strike for four days. Even 70,000 policemen in Gujarat went on strike for a day, and won their demands.

Demands

From 21 July 70,000 postal workers are going on strike, and on the same day 210,000 public sector industrial workers are taking one-day action.

In September, 180,000 railway workers are threatening to go on indefinite strike.

The demands of all the workers are similar: revision of bonuses; against indiscriminate 'modernisation' and privatisation at the workers' expense; against the ban on recruitment.



Government employees and teachers on strike in the state of Uttar Pradesh earlier this year.

Among the postal workers there is very great enthusiasm to make their strike successful. They appeal to the international working class, in particular postal workers, to send messages of support to:

Joint Action Committee of Postal Workers, c/o GPO, Bangalore, India.

From a correspondent in India

International Notes



Haiti

HAITI'S MILITARY regime has been rocked by a general strike for most of last week against its dissolution of the main trade union federation and threats of manipulating the elections promised for November.

Barricades went up in many towns and the country was at a standstill in another display of the blazing revolutionary energy which toppled the Duvalier dictatorship last year.

General Namphy's regime has promised to rethink its decree stripping the electoral commission of most of its powers, while at least 25 people were shot dead on the streets. But neither bullets nor promises have calmed the workers' anger.

Now, with mass demonstrations continuing, splits are reported in the government. With clear leadership, Haiti's workers and youth could be poised to overthrow Namphy and, with him, the rotten capitalist system itself.

Israel

ISRAEL'S ARABS came out on general strike last Wednesday demanding equal rights. Four kibbutzim (Jewish collective farms) staged rallies supporting the strike.

The Jerusalem Post reported strong support for the strike among Arab workers and called it "A new stage in the struggle".

But the strike organisers (according to the government the Communist Party) made no attempt to mobilise Jewish workers. Most of the demands were raised in a way which made a class appeal difficult: 'provision of funds to build 200 new classrooms per year in Arab villages'; 'programmes to create industries and jobs in the Arab sector', etc.

Meanwhile the mainly Jewish bus drivers, Tel Aviv binmen and TV technicians have all taken action last week in support of pay claims. The Histadruth (trade union federation) has called a public sector strike in support of demands for a reduction in the 45 hour week and pay increases.

By uniting these struggles behind generalised demands for jobs, better working conditions and services, real improvements can be won for Arab as well as Jewish workers, and the foundations for common action built.

From a correspondent in Israel

Belgium

ON 19 June almost the entire Belgian public sector was at a standstill in a massive show of anger at the right-wing coalition government's derisory offer of a one per cent wage increase—the first in 14 years!

In Ostend, firemen and harbour police joined in. Even the para-military National Guard sent solidarity greetings to the main demonstration in Brussels, and took their banner on the march!

There was widespread support from sections moving into action for the first time, such as water workers.

The strike was a clear warning to the government of the movement that can erupt after the holidays if it persists with its present line of confrontation.

Classified ads

20p per word, minimum 10 words. Semi-display £3 per column centimetre. Three weeks for the price of two. **Militant meeting ads free.** All advertisement copy should reach this office by first post on Friday, the week before publication.

□ **Summer bargains from World Socialist Books:** Trotsky *Revolution Betrayed* now £4.50 (usually £5.75). Classic account of what went wrong with the Russian Revolution.

Dobbs *Teamster Rebellion* now £4 (usually £4.95). Gripping story of the Minneapolis strike struggle in 1934, by a leading participant. Please add 50p postage for each title. From WSB, 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

□ **Wanted** co-op and green shield stamps. Loose, part or full books. All proceeds to the fighting fund. Send c/o Militant circulation, 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

□ **Out now**, no.15 of L'Avance Socialiste, French Marxist paper. Articles on May 1968, the Chirac government's arms programme, the French nuclear industry, need for Socialist/Communist unity, Spain, South Africa. Subscription rates: £5 for 5 issues (inc. postage), £10 for 12 issues. Cheques to: L'Avance Socialiste, BP no. 705, 75531 Paris, Cedex 11.

□ **Cassette tapes** with two issues of *Militant* (one each side). Available fortnightly. Tapes £3.50 per quarter, £13 per year. To be returned or send blank C-90 tapes. Contact Dave: 14 Harrowby Road, West Park, Leeds 16. Tel: 0532 624917.

□ **TRAVEL X.** We cater for ALL types of holiday and flights at competitive rates. Tel: 01 942 1234 or 01 942 7156. 7a Coombe Rd, New Malden, Surrey, KT3 4PX. 24 hour answer phone service available.

□ **Labour Party Conference Greetings.** Rates: Semi-display 3 col. centimetres £8.6cc £15. Display: 1/16 page £25, 1/8 page £40, 1/4 page £25. Send to: Militant Publications, Circulation Dept., Militant, 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

Militant meetings

○ **Blackburn** every Wednesday. The Trades Club, 8.30pm.

○ **Chorlton** every Thursday. The Southern Hotel, Mauldeth Rd West, Chorlton. 8.30pm.

○ **Southampton** Marxist discussion group. Wednesdays 12.30pm. 7 Goodwin Close, Millbrook, Southampton. Crèche provided.

After the election What now for Labour

○ **Basildon.** 16 July 8pm. Room 2, Pitsea leisure Centre.

○ **Brixton.** 22 July. Lambeth Town Hall, 7.45pm.

○ **Ripley.** 21 July

○ **West London.** 14 July, Southall Town Hall, 7.45pm.

Nightmare memories

Dear Comrades,

Reading the article *Cathy Leaves Home*, brought back the nightmare memory of living under the roof of a Tory landlord.

Like Cathy, I'm a single parent. I ended up living in squalor after my marriage break-up. My room was at the top of two flights of stairs. Climbing these stairs everyday my back would ache with carrying my son, the shopping and the pram. With the rent paid for me, it gave this landlord the audacity to open all my mail.

He would just walk into my room and say "Sign this". When I protested he would start to threaten you. One of the tenants was actually beaten up when he couldn't pay his rent one week.

The room I had was a cess pit of filth; no carpets, broken floorboards, bro-

ken down bed. I just couldn't believe I was living like this. At night I was afraid to go to sleep because of the rats and mice running around. I laid traps all round my son's cot. One morning I had caught two of them. When I showed the landlord I just got abuse.

Last straw

Eventually my son ended up in hospital. He was losing weight, vomiting and had diarrhoea. For me this was the last straw. I went to the Environmental Health, Social Services, my GP, the housing, but red tape bureaucracy didn't help me.

My last chance was my Labour MP. I went to see him and gave him a six page letter describing the conditions I was living under. Finally I got the letter I'd

been waiting for—it had been opened. I couldn't get out quick enough to grab the keys to my new flat.

With all these problems I had for the last year, I forgot to send the returning form back to the Law Society relating to legal aid from my court case. I was summoned to pay £1,000 to the courts. After I explained my situation I still had to pay it back. I even offered to pay the money to a children's charity, but they refused.

The last four years under Tory rule for me has been a living hell. The poverty I had to live in with my son, and no doubt other single parents is an indictment of what the Tories represent.

Yours fraternally
Peter D Sibbald
Liverpool 25



Homeless and poorly-housed families face a desperate situation. Photo: Andrew Moore/Reflex II

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

Militant,
3-13 Hepscott Road,
London E9 5HB

Myth of lazy jobless exposed

Dear Comrades,

On Thursday 18 June, Cyril Smith MP appeared on BBC's *Question Time* and during a discussion on unemployment claimed that a firm in Rochdale could not fill vacancies for unskilled jobs which paid £160 per week.

Thinking this was too good to be true I wrote to 'Big Cyril' asking for the name and address of this firm as I would be very interested in talking to them about these vacancies!

When I telephoned the firm, I was put through to the personnel manager who



Cyril Smith; huge claims.

was very polite and courteous but told me there were no such jobs. He also told me the firm had been "highly embarrassed" by Mr Smith's claims!

I think that MPs like Cyril Smith who have a high public profile should make sure they have their

facts right before making outrageous claims. Or was this another attempt to slander the unemployed and make cheap political capital?

Yours fraternally
Kevin Wilson
Skipton

'Moderate' when it suits

Dear Comrades,

According to a report in our local paper, a disabled man has no room to move in his lounge because he has to store his three wheelchairs there. He has planning permission for a store shed, but no money to build one and

the council has turned down his application for a grant towards the cost.

It's bad enough that a Labour council is so intent on going by the (Tories') book as far as spending goes and therefore won't make the money available, but

this story followed a report in last week's paper that the council is preparing to spend £33,000 on a new car for the Mayor!

Yours fraternally
Maggie McGinley
Barking Labour Party

Take from the poor to swell the profits

Dear Comrades,

A friend of mine works in a large jeweller's store in my home town. She said that although there is high unemployment customers never cease to amaze her when they come into the shop and spend hundreds of pounds on jewellery. But they also see the other side of the story.

Last winter an old couple came into her shop and asked if they bought second hand items, to which the reply came 'yes'.

The lady, who was at

least in her early eighties, then struggled to remove her wedding ring and handed it over. My friend asked her why she wanted to sell it as she was obviously upset. It was to pay the gas bill.

Second hand gold is a cheap commodity to jewellers, but even cheaper is the dignity and well-being of our old people under this system.

Yours fraternally
Kay Thraves
Swansea

Qualified nurses look elsewhere

Dear Comrades,

The panic in the National Health Service at the moment can only get worse following the re-election of a Tory government.

This panic is the dire shortage of qualified nurses and why well qualified nurses are leaving in droves, to other careers, but mostly to foreign shores, especially America. Despite Thatcher's pre-election pay rise 'bribe', nurses in Britain are still being paid a poverty wage.

At the moment a USA nurse recruiting team are in London seeking 1,000 NHS nurses to work in America with the carrot of a starting wage of approximately

£13,500 pa. Double the wage of British nurses.

When will the government see that by keeping nurses' pay low they are losing out. They are spending three years training nurses to a high standard, not to benefit the NHS, but overseas hospitals.

The Tories don't care though, it doesn't directly affect them, no doubt they've all got BUPA membership.

The people yet again who lose out are the hospital staff and patients.

Yours fraternally
Gwyneth Lloyd
Leicester East Labour Party Young Socialists

In Memory of Colum McCallan

In memory of Colum McCallan, a young *Militant* supporter, who was fatally shot by the Protestant Action Force (Ulster Volunteer Force) on Monday 14 July 1986 at his Legoniel home in North Belfast. Colum died of his wounds two days later. He will never be forgotten by his comrades.

On behalf of the *Militant* Editorial Board.

Dear Comrades,

Colum McCallan was a dear friend of mine and Dave Archibald. Every year since 1982 till 1985 we stayed at his house for two weeks (and would have done in 1986). Sadly in 1986 we arrived on the day of his death (14 July) and attended his funeral.

Forever in our minds, Forever in our hearts, The memory of Colum McCallan, dear friend and fellow socialist, murdered by cowards calling themselves 'The Protestant Action

Force' July 14 1986.

You are forever missed. By your friends and comrades, Bob Harker-Gateshead, Dave Archibald-Newcastle.

Durham miners gala

Durham miners fight nine hour shift plan

THE DURHAM miners' gala began in 1871 as a demonstration that the union was established and was not going away.

Throughout the 1800s miners struggled to organise their union and fight for better wages and conditions. At this time, boys as young as six went down the pit, working 17-18 hours a day.

The miners came forward in wave after wave, despite sackings, evictions, the use of scabs, martyrdom and the smashing of their unions.

Today miners have never forgotten their debt to their forerunners. On gala day each July, delegates from the lodges visit the grave of Tommy Hepburn, the leader of a joint union of Northumberland and Durham miners which

struck in 1831 but was crushed the following year.

One feature of 'Hepburn's union' was mass meetings, bringing together 25,000 miners or more. Each colliery would march into the meeting field bearing its banner. That display of solidarity was set into the traditions of the gala itself.

At the first gala over 200 pits were represented, and although Durham now only has six pits, the fighting spirit of miners has not diminished, as was proved by the strike of 1984-5.

Attempts by the government and the Coal Board to use the scab Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM) to break the miners' union have failed. Its Durham leaders, Seed and

Hunter, have taken redundancy and their replacement, Shelton, has complained of his members leaving to rejoin the National Union of Mineworkers. The UDM is now the Union of Demoralised Miners.

Because of closures, the number of Durham pits involved in the gala has shrunk, but it has grown in its scope. Miners from throughout the British coalfield will be attending with their banners, plus representatives of other unions, reflecting the bonds of solidarity forged in struggle during the strike.

These bonds should be nurtured and strengthened. Given the plans of the Tories, they will once again be tested in struggle in the near future.

Sell-off a real threat

PRIVATISATION OF the mining industry will be attempted during this government's term of office. But to achieve this the Tories and British Coal must first smash the NUM, dismantle the Mines and Quarries Act and extend the working week.

This will make the industry much more attractive to the Tories' friends in big business, especially the multi-national oil corporations who are seeking to dominate and control the European energy markets.

They already produce coal in South Africa, USA, Canada, Botswana, Colombia and Australia. It is coal mined in these countries that we are told we must compete with, produced by miners often working for slave wages, living and working in atrocious conditions.

That is what British miners face in the future, a return to Victorian values. If British Coal introduce a six-day week at Margam and a nine-hour continental shift pattern at Wearmouth, it will be another step on the road to ruin for miners.

By Charlie Bell,
Committee member,
Murton Lodge NUM, in
personal capacity.

We cannot stand another five years

BRITISH COAL'S threat to cease investment into a new super-pit at Margam in South Wales unless it operates a six-day week, has been well publicised.

Less so is the attempt by management at Wearmouth colliery, Durham, to introduce a nine-hour working day, as STAN PEARCE, Wearmouth NUM Lodge Delegate, explains:

It is an immediate threat for us. Margam is not going to be worked until 1992. Management here want these nine-hour shifts in the next 18 months.

Their excuse is that because the faces are now seven miles underground, less time is being spent working the face and more travelling. Does that mean that when we get further out instead of a nine-hour shift they will want nine and a quarter, then nine and a half? Where does it end?

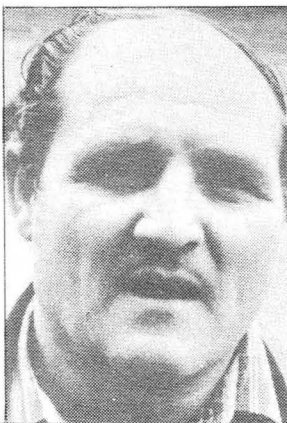
Now we work a seven and a quarter hour day on a four-shift cycle, but already we have men who, because of successive pit closures and transfers from West Durham, are out of the house eleven hours a day. If another hour and three quarters is added it will not be worth these lads going home. Maybe the Board plans to provide accommodation like they used to for the ponies!

Already accidents are on the increase. Longer shifts mean tired men, which makes for even more accidents.

They are trying to use Durham as they used other areas over the incentive scheme, as the thin end of the wedge.

Management have tried to flatter lodge officials by involving them in discussions at local level. The local union has refused, making it clear that we are not interested and that it is a national question.

Last year a motion from Durham was passed at the national conference, ins-



Stan Pearce.

tructing the NEC to mount a campaign of opposition to continental shifts or an increase in hours, by holding a ballot with a recommendation not to accept these.

That motion was carried unanimously, with NEC support. It should be implemented now.

Locally we put out a leaflet explaining what the new shifts would mean, but now the management has stopped us putting out leaflets or newspapers in the normal way.

The Board shows propaganda videos and distributes leaflets in the lamp room, and Coal News is sent by post to every miner, but ours are stopped. It's a South Africa style situation.

It is part of the Board's rigid attitude. The new man is just continuing where MacGregor left off. Conciliation is out of the window.

They are also trying to impose new disciplinary procedures. We sent an emergency resolution to conference over this. I think that because of the hardening attitude of the Board, the imposed pay rises, etc, we will get support for an overtime ban, no bother.

The election of the Tories has made action more likely. We cannot stand another five years of this.

We need to be working towards a 24-hour general strike.



Scene from the Durham miners' gala in 1983.

Pride in our work and skill

KEN MAUGHAN, newly elected Chairman of Northumberland NUM and a face-worker at Ellington Colliery, spoke to Militant.

What is the mood in the industry?

There is still a good mood. The people who were out from the start of the strike in 1984 are still determined, but even those who went back are now trying to redeem themselves.

The Coal Board are helping by not allowing the union to negotiate on pay for the past couple of years and by cutbacks in manpower. Everybody is just sick of the industry. It is not surprising that only 15 pits nationally did not strike last year.

What effect has the re-election of the Tories had?

The mood was down for a bit, but it is now rising fast. We are faced with problems and only one solution. We are going to have to fight for our industry as we did in 1984-85.

We have learned lessons from the strike on the role of the establishment and the law and also about the sup-

port we could expect from other trade unions. I hope we could get more physical support this time.

What is your view on alternative energy sources?

Miners are not opposed to other energy sources such as wind, sea, etc. In Northumberland it is probably windy enough to produce electricity with a bike and a dynamo. What is needed is a national plan for energy. It goes along with the sensible planning of the coal industry. It is a nationalised industry there to serve the needs of the community, not for profits.

Nuclear power

What about nuclear power?

It stinks. The question of nuclear power is guaranteed to get a big reaction from miners. It is not just jobs, but also the environment where they live. They are planning to build a nuclear power station at Durrigge Bay in Northumberland. It's stupid. There is already a coal-fired power station. It just needs updating and we've got a

coalfield to supply it.

The full cost of nuclear power, like the costs of building and decommissioning, are never weighed up. Not to mention the radioactive waste. Northumberland miners opposed Torness and are represented on the committee to stop Durrigge Bay.

Nuclear power is not needed. There is enough coal to last 350 years at 1979 rates of consumption. If the amounts spent on nuclear research, £204 million in 1983-84, were used into research into renewable energy sources, we could make enormous steps forward.

Would that not be a threat to other miners' jobs?

No, not if the energy industries were nationalised and run by the workers themselves as part of a national plan of production. It would give us the chance to have a shorter working week without loss of pay and early retirement on full rates. There are not many who enjoy working underground, but they do have a pride in their work and their skill.

Industrial Reports

Back London Transport builders

LONDON REGIONAL Transport building workers are on strike against management demands for 13 compulsory redundancies, including leading trade unionists, after reducing the workforce by a thousand through voluntary redundancy and natural wastage.

From last November management made it clear they intended to reduce the workforce to "stay viable" in their words. Then they asked for another 470 job losses.

Until the 29 June they had managed to get 457 by voluntary means. After many meetings with the union they issued redundancy notices to 13 of our members, to come into effect on 13 June.

This was postponed because of the election. On 29 June management stated that the 13 men were to be made compulsorily redundant and that was the end of the matter.

The Joint Convenors' Committee had already held a ballot in December and got a vote of over

90 per cent in favour of industrial action to defend jobs and conditions.

At a meeting on 29 June the members endorsed that decision because management were insisting that on 3 July the 13 should go down the road.

Precedent

The members understand the arguments put by the Committee that the only reason LRT are refusing even to extend the deadline is to get rid of leading trade unionists and set a precedent for compulsory redundancies within the whole of London Transport.

They have also stated that the building department are unlikely to get a pay rise and our terms of negotiation and procedures are to be changed. They want a free hand to implement their policies without consultation.

There is no shortage of building work going on in London Transport. There is millions of pounds of work we have not been allowed to tender for. They are acting in line with the policy of this government to dismantle direct labour organisations and the reasonable wages and conditions we have won.

Every section within London Transport is facing similar attacks. This struggle is not just about the building workers. If LRT are successful here they will have increased confidence to go for everybody else. Sir Dr Bright, LRT chairman, has said that by the year 2,000 he expects to shed at least another 20,000 jobs.

Since last Monday we have been picketing all the major building depots. We have been round the bus garages; speaking to both engineers and drivers and conductors.

They are all organising collections and have stated that they will be prepared to take some form of industrial action in support of our demand for withdrawal of the compulsory redundancies.

Solidarity

We are calling for a special conference of the London Transport Trade Union Group immediately. It covers the whole workforce within LRT. This meeting should campaign for London-wide industrial action.

This call is not just on behalf of the builders but to mobilise the whole workforce to resist LRT's attacks. It is not a limited indus-

trial dispute. This battle affects jobs, wages, conditions of all LRT workers.

But it is also about defending the transport service within the capital. A defeat here will be a green light for attacks on many other sections of workers and services.

We will be attending the London Labour Party conference at the weekend calling for support. We urge all trade unionists and Labour Party members to give practical and financial support.

Contact: Chris Murphy, LRT Builders Senior Convenor, c/o Camden Trades Council Support Unit, 102 St. Pancras Way, London NW1 9ND. Tel. 482 4136, 485 6352.

Militant talked to Jim McGuinness, chair of London Transport Building Department Joint Convenors Committee.

Remploy disabled ballot on industrial action

THE TORY attack on trade unionists doesn't stop at the able-bodied. They have cut the subsidy they give a company called Remploy which provides jobs for 9,000 severely disabled workers. And forced them into balloting on industrial action.

In this year's wage negotiations the Joint Union Committee fought a long battle with the company to get a pay increase of £4.50 on an £80.33 basic and half an hour off the working week.

Both the company and the union asked to see the Minister for the Disabled to outline their grievances. He couldn't even be bothered to talk to them. The union then decided to wait until after the election in the hope of a Labour government. Unfortunately that was not to be.

The offer was put back to the members who were told that if they rejected it they

would have to ballot for industrial action.

I am proud to say that the workers at our factory voted three to one against the final offer, knowing that confrontation with both the government and the company was the only alternative.

We are all waiting for the results of the other 95 Remploy factories and hoping that their support is unanimous.

Remploy was set up in 1946 by the then Labour government to give disabled workers the means of making a living. It makes everything from wheelchairs to books. This is what the Tories' policy of profit before people means for the disabled.

By M.A. Prendergast,

Sogat chapel secretary, Remploy, Leicester, personal capacity.



Senior Colman engineering strikers celebrated six months out with a demonstration in Manchester last Saturday. Speakers at the rally included Manchester MPs Stan Orme and Gerald Kaufman (front in suit), Terry Fields MP (right), John Tocher (AEU) and Doreen Purvis of CPSA.

Photo: Peter Walsh (Profile).

Kilnhurst colliery closure threat

BRITISH COAL announced at a review meeting on 16 June that to make the Manvers complex profitable, Kilnhurst colliery would have to close and Manvers colliery would have to shed 100 miners. The review meeting was lobbied by around 40 men from both pits.

South Yorkshire Area director, Ted Horton, came down to talk to the men. In a revealing statement he pointed out that when SO3's face at Manvers went into production the complex would make a profit. But he also told us he would not make the necessary investment to open up a new face at Kilnhurst.

At Kilnhurst we have proved that we can produce coal despite undermanning. Kilnhurst tops the area production league with S52's face producing over 1,600 tonnes per day. New roadways are needed to instal

another face and they need to be driven now.

This would create jobs and because the driveage is through coal, would pay for itself. The only major investment required is on face equipment. Although this is expensive we have already proved that investment here gets results.

Wasteful

From the statements made by Ted Horton it was clear that even if the pit can make a profit British Coal are not interested in pits which are not long life. This was emphasised by his promise to transfer men to long life pits where "they had a future".

Though most men at Kilnhurst are under 40 and recognise the inevitability of closure through exhaustion in a few years time, they want to keep the pit open.

The attitude is, if there is coal available we want to mine it. As a result the pit is going through the review procedure and several public meetings have been organised to explain the case for keeping Kilnhurst open.

In the North Yorkshire Area British Coal are attempting to chop 238 jobs at South Kirkby colliery and 100 at Royston Drift. During the last financial year Royston Drift made a profit of £7.50 per tonne of coal mined.

So how can management justify the job losses? The men at South Kirkby have rejected management's proposals and the pit is likely to go into the review procedure.

By Gary Ironmonger,
Kilnhurst NUM, personal capacity

Howards garment makers sack sixty seven strikers

AFTER TWO weeks on strike red flags continue to fly over the picket lines at Howards garment makers of Ashton, near Stockport. The mood of the strikers, protesting against attempts to reduce wages by 15 per cent is determined and confident.

Management tactics have got worse. Dismissal notices have now been sent to 67 strikers with more to follow. Even two women who have been on maternity leave since before the dispute have been sacked.

Strikers were asked to turn up for their tax rebates, only to be handed a slip of paper which said that these would not be issued during the dispute.

Letters have been circu-

lated to all those still working in the factory saying that if they refuse to cross the picket line they too will be sacked. It also asked for the name of anyone who wanted to leave the union.

Crawling

Mr Burdett, one of the managers, was reported to have boasted that the strikers would "all soon be crawling back by Monday" (22 June). At the mass meeting on 26 June one striker said, "The only ones crawling are the scabs—in and out of the factory".

Acas have now become involved and management's previous intransigence has modified. Originally they demanded that the union should choose 30

workers to be made redundant. The strike has caused pressure on them from major customers, with competitors being asked to increase production.

Picketing has been effective. Even the wages for the scabs were stopped until a manager from the security firm was called out to do the job. The dispute has been made official and a Howards Strike Fund started, with socials planned and collections organised. Donations from trade union branches have already started to arrive. Messages of support and donations to Elaine Palmer, NUKHW convenor, c/o 57 Dona Street, Stockport, Cheshire. Cheques and postal orders payable to Howards Strike Fund.

Industrial Reports

Council crisis looming Liverpool

THE FINANCIAL situation remains critical for Liverpool council. There is a budget deficit of something like £56 million. Many of the gains of the past, including the house building programme, are now threatened. Also threatened are the gains won by the workforce. The Tories are looking for revenge against Liverpool.

Council managers who were restrained from attacking the workforce by the old, debarred council, are feeling more confident in settling old scores with the unions. There are a number of disputes beginning to break out in the council. Many more are simmering under the surface.

There is growing concern

in all departments over the non-filling of vacancies. In the careers service, management are attempting to reduce the complement by six, in return for re-grading. Nalgo members have rejected this. In the cleansing department management have given drivers jobs previously done by G&M members to the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Disputes

There is an overtime ban in the leisure centres because of a regrading dispute. On Monday GM-BATU branch 50 members went on strike on the city estates department over the moving of a superintendent, known to the workers as Michael Heseltine.

Following abusive behav-



Liverpool demonstration in support of the council. This campaign showed how to mobilise mass opposition to Tory cuts.

our towards branch 50 members last year, the old council moved him. Now for some reason he has been moved back. An emergency branch meeting unanimously backed strike action and refused to work with him.

There were high expectations amongst the workforce of a continuation of the policies and the approach of the old, debarred council. There are worrying signs that despite the fact that the councillors were elected on the policies of the old council, they are

not prepared to fight in the same manner.

One shop steward sharply summed up the feeling of many council workers when he said: "The old council listened to the workers and dealt with management. The new council listens to management and deals with the workers".

Fight-back

It is vital that the Labour group gives a clear notice of their intention to fight the cuts and clamp down on

IN AN important move, NALGO has taken a step towards rejoining the Joint Shop Stewards Committee. The Treasury shop stewards voted 14 to one in favour of sending observers to the JSSC. This was despite the objection of Tony Gavin, a leading branch executive committee member who opposed this move. All the stewards, with the exception of one, were in favour, and even the one who voted against only did so because he thought it was the job of the branch executive committee to decide on it.

management's provocations.

The key body to organise a fight back is the District Labour Party. Unfortunately, the Labour Party right wing continues its suspension. Pressure must

be exerted now to reconstitute the DLP urgently so that an effective defence of the gains of the past can be organised.

By Mick Whale

Hackney

AT A meeting last week several hundred council shop stewards in Hackney agreed, without dissent, to form joint all-union committees in each of the main directorates to inform and organise the workforce as the first step to building an all-London and national campaign to defend jobs and conditions.

Contrary to the London Labour leaders' claims that confrontation "has been tried, failed and discredited", these stewards recognise that for most of their members there is no alternative.

Their jobs and living standards are directly under threat. There was also a recognition of the need for unity between

manual and white collar workers, a problem in the past.

The Capital Works DLO, one of the biggest in the country, involving 600 jobs, is expecting a closure order to be served at any time. This will inevitably curtail the training programme, one of the biggest in western Europe and vir-

tually the only one in the area.

Though they say they have enough work in hand for two or three years the Local Government Bill will give the Secretary of state retrospective rights to step in and shut down any contract.

Move fast

Hackney council leaders have promised to fight. But to do so effectively they will have to move swiftly and decisively to win the confidence of workers and tenants.

In this context the comments of Nupe official Mike Jackson, in the meeting, however, were not very helpful. He predicted

that the Tories will find it very difficult to get the Bill through parliament and even if it was passed it would be possible to get round it by making jobs 'multi-disciplinary', ie. cleaners doing plumbers jobs?

The Bill was published on 26 June and is already in the middle of its second reading. The audience were not convinced. He then went on to say that his experience in the health service was that privatisation affects low paid jobs which aren't worth defending anyway.

He also argued that all London boroughs have recruitment freezes etc and that it was necessary to work with Labour council-

lors to improve services, presumably by productivity deals and accepting 'rationalisation'.

This is all in line with the statements by Islington council leader Margaret Hodge about sacrificing jobs to defend services and reflects the defeatism of many ex-lefts.

Councils' record

The mood of the stewards was very different. It was a very calm and reflective meeting, with almost every speaker recognising the need to fight and many references to Liverpool's stand. The need to start organising a strike fund was accepted.

But there is also a great deal of cynicism about the Labour council, which is understandable given the record of the left Labour councils during the rate-capping struggle and the number of minor disputes breaking out.

Stewards complain that much of their time is spent defending members on disciplinaries as officers 'tighten' up procedures. Cut-backs in overtime are causing problems and other 'savings' are predicted. The local Labour parties and the Labour Group must start working together now to ensure the unity and build the mass campaign necessary to oppose the Tories.

Blakes engineering Edinburgh dispute

THE BLAKES engineering dispute in Edinburgh continues. Strikers have been boosted by a £1,500 grant to the recently established Blakes Womens Support Group from the Labour-controlled Lothian Regional Council.

Raver

The Tory Group strongly opposed the grant and the cancellation of contracts which the council has with Blakes, calling the latter illegal.

But that is hardly surprising. In a recent debate on South African disinvestment a member of the Raving Right, council-

lor Tony Lester, entered the council chamber with a tyre round his neck in "an act of solidarity with the Botha regime".

The LPYS are championing the setting up of a labour movement committee to be organised by Leith Labour Party and including local MP Ron Brown, with other CLPs invited to participate. One step it could take is the calling of a demonstration outside the works.

Donations and messages of support to: Blakes dispute, c/o Edinburgh Trades Council, 12 Picardy Place, Edinburgh.

By Russell Taylor

Disciplinary against Cohse activist dropped

STEVE PITMAN, a prominent Welsh supporter of the Broad Left in health service union Cohse has been under threat of expulsion from the union for months.

A twenty page dossier was prepared to prove various charges of breaking the rules and of intimidation.

Case dropped

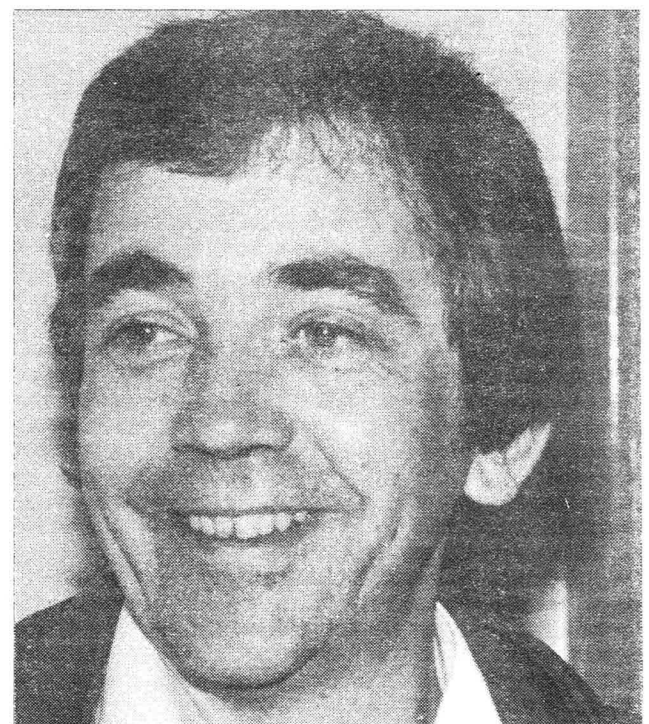
A counter-document was prepared by Steve and at a meeting of the so called conciliation panel this week, where he was represented by Kevin Mullins (recent Broad Left candidate for general secretary and president), all charges were

dropped.

Kevin Mullins commented after the hearing that "Common sense has reigned. At the time when we need to unite to fight Tory proposals for the NHS, Cohse in this area in South Wales has been concentrating on the attempt to expel and discipline one of their active young members."

The Cohse Broad Left can be contacted by writing to Peter Haworth, 116 Hershcell Crescent, Littlemore, Oxon. Phone: 0865 715055.

By Mick Barwood

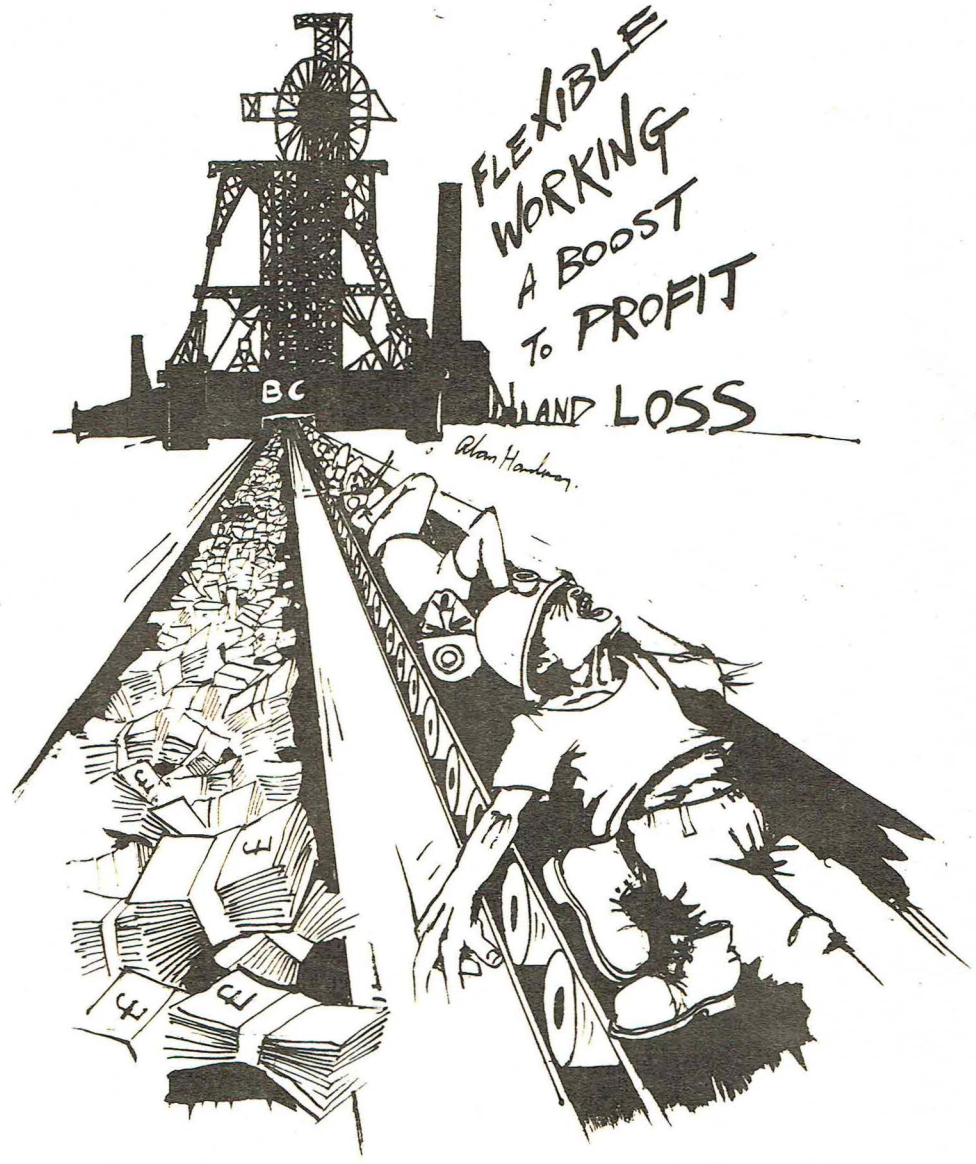


Kevin Mullins.

Militant

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Miners reject six-day week



THE REJECTION of six-day production by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) conference, by 49 votes to 22, marks the start of the fightback against British Coal's assault on the mining industry. It represents a tremendous victory for the left after a fair and open debate.

Acceptance of 'flexible working', as Arthur Scargill and Peter Heathfield warned, would have meant the go-ahead for the axing of 31 pits and the loss of a further 40,000 jobs. Instead, rank-and-file miners will now be looking to the NEC to outline a strategy and programme to safeguard their jobs and conditions. The union must now campaign vigorously to secure the rejection of British Coal's proposals in the forthcoming pit-head ballot.

By Gary Knowles
 Conference delegate NW Area (Personal capacity)

mood amongst ordinary miners to oppose six-day working, there can be no room for complacency. South Wales leaders gave a firm pledge that they would honour the conference decision, but there will undoubtedly be attempts by British Coal to secure deals behind the scenes at local or area level. They must be thwarted.

leaders stand firm by the decision of conference. British Coal will no doubt seek to impose six-day working or nine-hour shifts in an individual pit, in order to establish the principle. Such a move must be met with immediate industrial action.

It is imperative that the membership is convinced not only of the need to take industrial action, but also that it can be successful.

This means that the NUM leadership must develop a strategy that has credibility in the eyes of the membership. The immediate implementation of an overtime ban could have the dual effect of a shot across the bows to warn off management against any moves to endanger our rights and conditions and at

the same time actively involve the membership in the campaign.

Rank-and-file miners do not want six-day working. They understand what this will mean for health and safety and the quality of life. The present guaranteed working week was won after generations of struggle by ordinary miners. There must be no going back.

Even Roy Lynk, the 'leader' of the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM) has been forced to write to each UDM branch to assure them that there are no plans, despite his statement at UDM conference, to bring in six-day working in the Notts coalfield.

An NUM overtime ban would clearly indicate who has the best interests of the

miners at heart and assist NUM activists in the recruitment campaign.

But at the end of the day, the miners must face up to the reality that to defend our conditions and secure our future, there probably will be no alternative to national strike action.

The national miners' Broad Left must follow up their excellent activities at and around the NUM conference by throwing themselves into the ballot campaign. British Coal has declared war on the NUM and only the Broad Left is capable of leading a successful fightback at rank-and-file level.

Durham miners fight nine-hour shift plan Gala feature—see page 13.

Socialist Youth

THE LABOUR Party NEC's Finance Committee on 13 July is likely to close down all Party publications, Labour Weekly, New Socialist and Socialist Youth, as part of their post-election austerity measures.

It is scandalous that **Socialist Youth**, which broke even financially last year, is threatened with closure. It is vital that LPYS members rush donations urgently to **Socialist Youth**, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17 to defend the campaigning socialist paper of Labour's youth section.

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What we stand for

- The immediate introduction of a 35-hour week without loss in pay as a step towards the elimination of unemployment.
- Reversal of all Tory cuts and a massive programme of public works on housing, education, the health service, etc.
- A minimum wage of £120 a week tied to the cost of living for all, including sick and disabled people.
- A socialist plan of production democratically drawn up and implemented by committees involving the trade unions, shop stewards, the unwaged and small business people.
- Opposition to the capitalist Common Market, the EEC. For a socialist United States of Europe as a step towards a World Socialist Federation.
- Workers' management of the nationalised industries. These should be run on the basis of one-third of the places on the management board coming from the unions in the industry, one-third from the TUC representing the working class as a whole, and one-third from the government.
- Opposition to the Tory government's anti-union laws and reversal of attacks on the trade unions.
- Massive cuts in arms spending. Support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, but with the recognition that only a socialist change of society in Britain and internationally can eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust.
- Nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, including the banks and insurance companies which control 80 per cent to 85 per cent of the economy. This should be through an Enabling Bill in Parliament with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need.